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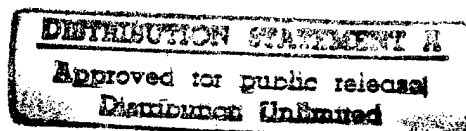


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JPRS Report

Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN



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Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

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International Affairs

U.S. Diplomats Said Engaged in Mysterious Activities

93AS0678D Karachi AMN in Urdu 6 Feb 93 p 8

[News Report: "U.S. Diplomats Have Started Mysterious Activities; Contacts with Political and Religious Groups Will Reveal Public Opinion"]

[Text] Islamabad, 5 February (NNI): Under the pretext of study tours, American diplomats have started their secret activities throughout the country. Not only the U.S. consul general and political consular but diplomats of the rank of the first secretary have spread out through small and large cities and are engaged in secret discussions with leaders of various political and religious parties. After touring Punjab, the Frontier, and the inland areas of Sindh, the U.S. ambassador is nowadays busy in Balochistan. This is the first time in Pakistan's history that U.S. diplomats have undertaken an unannounced campaign of contacts with politicians from Khyber to Karachi to Gawader. Nothing is known as yet about their mysterious activities; however, political observers think that, in view of the continuous failure of the opposition's movements against the Nawaz Sharif government, the secret activities of U.S. diplomats take on a meaningful significance. Observers are of the view that the U.S. Government has sent out its diplomats to study at first hand the real views of the Pakistani people. Also, in the course of their travels the diplomats intend to gauge the extent of public hatred toward the U.S. generated by the Gulf war. Religious parties have launched a regular campaign against the United States, and the latter wants to observe firsthand the effect of this campaign on the people. The activities of the U.S. diplomats are all connected with these objectives.

U.S. Demand To Hand Over Drug Traffickers Attacked

93AS0678E Karachi AMN in Urdu 10 Feb 93

[Editorial: "U.S. Makes Unfair Demand on Pakistan"]

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has designated the current year as the year of campaigning against drugs, and large-scale activities are afoot throughout the country. However, according to a broadcast report, the U.S. Government has accused the Government of Pakistan of failing to carry out effective measures to control drugs. According to this radio report, the United States has issued a list of 20 individuals allegedly involved directly in drug dealing and has asked the Government of Pakistan to turn these individuals over to the United States.

This is a fresh storm directed against Pakistan. Only a few days ago, the U.S. ambassador said that America wants good relations with Pakistan; but the manner in which the U.S. Government is treating Pakistan shows that the United States considers Pakistan its colony and

does not accept it as an independent and sovereign country. The U.S. Government has no right to accuse Pakistan of not taking effective measures to control narcotics. Every government has its priorities and it acts according to the facilities available to it. The entire administrative machinery cannot be diverted to the control of drug traffic just to please the United States. Pakistan has to deal with many other problems as well.

The identities of the 20 individuals accused by the United States of drug dealing are not known; however, the main issue is not to find out the names of these 20 individuals. The basic problem is to gather concrete evidence against persons involved directly in drug dealing so that these individuals may be convicted and sentenced in courts of law.

It is the responsibility of the U.S. government to send to the Pakistan Government, together with the list of names, the evidence against the individuals involved directly in drug dealing so that legal cases may be prepared against them. There are differences between U.S. and Pakistani laws, and the judicial systems of these countries differ as well. Without concrete evidence, it would be useless to arrest an individual or to file a case against him. No court would sentence a person without incontrovertible evidence of guilt. It is very easy to accuse an individual of a crime, but it is not easy to prove that he committed it. If the U.S. Government sincerely wishes to have drug dealers brought to justice, it should provide the evidence recorded against them and trust Pakistan's judicial system. Drug dealing is illegal and anyone involved in such activity can be tried and sentenced in Pakistan. The question of handing over Pakistanis accused of crimes to the United States does not arise at all especially when no concrete evidence has been recorded against them.

The United States should remember that, after the fall of Dacca, India and Bangladesh announced that the Pakistani commander, General Niazi, and other prisoners of war would be tried for war crimes. But the Bhutto government strongly resisted such demands and brought back General Niazi and all other prisoners of war to Pakistan with honor and dignity. The Pakistani Government's stand was that, if a Pakistani officer had committed war crimes, the evidence against him should be given to Pakistan, who would then try the officer in a court of law, and if he was proved guilty, would punish him. If a crime is committed in Pakistan, no foreign country can be granted the right to try the accused individual in its own courts and punish him.

Paper Criticizes U.S. for Adopting Double Standards

BK2002144593 Rawalpindi NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
13 Feb 93 p 10

[Editorial: "Double Standards of the United States"]

[Text] According to a report, the U.S. State Department has submitted its annual report on terrorism to the

Congress. Pakistan is not on the list of those countries which are suspected of abetting terrorism. Meanwhile, the BBC quotes U.S. State Department officials as saying that they will keep an eye on Pakistan's policies toward Kashmiri and Punjabi separatist movements. U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher has said, on the basis of the reports available so far, that it would not be proper to declare Pakistan a terrorist state. However, the current decision may be reversed anytime. As far as the question of declaring any country a terrorist one is concerned, Western nations led by the United States have adopted a double standard. On one side, they have granted full relaxation to India, Israel, and countries like South Africa and have tolerated their pranks and gimmicks; on the other, the countries which support and extend moral support to freedom movements have been declared terrorist states.

The fact cannot be denied that so far the Western countries, including the United States as the only superpower, are incapable of differentiating between a war fought for rights and one fought for terrorism, and they hold a totally biased attitude toward the Muslim world. An extreme prejudice is being practiced against the Muslim countries after labelling them Islamic fundamentalists. Relying on the strength of its intelligence agencies, the U.S. Government does not feel shy about saying that it knows everything about Pakistan. But it does not see any of the oppression being perpetrated by the Indian troops on the Muslims in occupied Kashmir. It is surprising to note that almost all U.S. Governments have claimed to champion the cause of human rights; but, now, there is no trace of any human rights in occupied Kashmir. Now, Kashmir has been made a colony of India. The attitude of the Indian security forces toward the freedom movements inside India, especially that of Khalistan, also does not draw the attention of the United States.

U.S. Called World's Worst Terrorist

93AS0718C Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 10 Mar 93 p 4

[Editorial: "Who is the Most Dangerous Terrorist?"]

[Text] The U.S. State Department has designated Iran the world's most dangerous terrorist country and started a new propaganda campaign against that country. The United States is being fully assisted in this campaign by the Israeli and Western media. The United States has taken it upon itself to designate six countries, namely, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya, North Korea, and Cuba, as terrorist countries. The United States has severed relations with these countries and will not tolerate any other country's offering economic and military aid to them. The only crime these countries have committed to arouse America's wrath and gain the designation of terrorist is that they are not willing to allow the United States to interfere in their affairs. Although these countries are small and have few resources, they have the courage to talk face-to-face with a superpower without blinking an eye. The United States is even more angry

with Iran because it not only upholds its own dignity but has emerged on the world scene as an Islamic republic, and this fact has given hope and courage to the supporters of Islamic revolution. Moreover, in spite of all the conspiracies and efforts of the United States and the West, Iran has remained steadfast in its principles.

Iran has been speaking out openly and loudly on behalf of the oppressed Muslims of Palestine, Bosnia, and other areas, and this fact also has brought confusion to the United States, Israel, and the Western countries. Iran is not silent about the fate of the Muslims of Bosnia and the more than 400 Palestinians expelled from their country. But the heartlessness and lack of action displayed by the United Nations and Western countries in regard to these issues reveal the hatred and vengeance they harbor and their machinations against the Muslims.

Since the United States is not only a superpower but the ringleader of Islam-hating powers, it will not tolerate the progress and security of any Islamic country, not just Iran. Before it accuses Iran of terrorism, the United States should look at its own visage in the mirror and see how terrible, disgusting, and frightening it is.

From the bombing of Hiroshima to the attacks on Iraq, the acts of terrorism and aggression committed by the United States in different parts of the world are evident to everyone. Based on its actions, the United States could be designated the biggest and most dangerous terrorist in the world. The United States has been the source of encouragement to Israel, Serbia, and other countries in their cruel treatment of Muslims. Last December, when the martyrdom [destruction of a mosque, since it is dedicated to God] of Baber's mosque gave rise to reactions in some Muslim countries, the United States warned Pakistan and Bangladesh not to show any strong reaction against India on this issue; undoubtedly, the Indian government and extremist Hindus were encouraged by this U.S. action. Since then, Indian Muslims have been made targets of continuous harassment, plunder, and murder.

One objective of the present propaganda campaign of the United States against Iran may be to keep the Gulf countries in a state of fear and anxiety regarding Iran so that they continue to seek U.S. protection and remain silent about the cruel treatment of Palestinians and Bosnian Muslims. Moreover, the United States wants to sabotage the effort to create an economic union with the participation of the newly liberated Central Asian Muslim countries. Iran is as active as Pakistan in this organizing effort. The aim of designating Iran as the most dangerous terrorist country is to force those countries who wish to join this union or organization to rethink their decision out of fear of offending the United States. The weapon of conspiracy that the United States is employing will not prove very effective, and its reputation is sustaining damage in the world community.

Recommendation of U.S. Scholar Supported

93AS0720A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
15 Mar 93 p 10

[Editorial: "Pakistan's Nuclear Program—U.S. Scholar's Suggestion to the American Government"]

[Text] A U.S. national, Mitchel Rice [as published], has offered a suggestion to the U.S. Government in an article; he points out that even after imposing strict restrictions under the Symington and Pressler Amendments, the U.S. Government failed to halt Pakistan's nuclear program; hence, it would be a good idea to restore U.S. aid to Pakistan, since that course offers a more effective way of convincing Pakistan [to change its policy]. The U.S. professor's suggestion is realistic. First, Pakistan is an independent and sovereign country and has the right to make decisions without outside pressure. As far as the nuclear program is concerned, Pakistan adopted it as a deterrent. India is the leading regional power, and it is no secret that it is trying to become a mini-superpower. Over the last 50 years, it has made Pakistan, China, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Bangladesh, and Nepal the targets of its aggression and conspiracies, and its actions have been part and parcel of its greater plan to establish a "Hindu empire" on the subcontinent and its surrounding areas.

India's explosion of a nuclear device in 1974 spread a fresh wave of fear and apprehension throughout the area. India maneuvered for the division of Pakistan in 1971 and was continually hatching secret plots; hence, to preserve its freedom, independence, and unity, Pakistan started its nuclear program. It is an obvious fact that after 1971 India did not dare to attack Pakistan or to start a major war in the region, and the reason was Pakistan's nuclear deterrent. For the last three years, the freedom movement in Kashmir has intensified. In spite of the oppression and cruelties of the Indian army, India has failed to defeat the Kashmiri Muslims. India accuses Pakistan of interfering in Kashmir and is trying to persuade the United States to designate Pakistan a terrorist nation. Under these circumstances, if India had not been afraid of Pakistan's nuclear program, God forbid, it would have swallowed Pakistan long ago. India was also afraid of widening the Siachen Glacier fighting. However, Pakistan, with its limited financial resources, traditional army, and conventional weapons, cannot withstand Indian aggression.

Munitions factories are busy producing weapons throughout the length and breadth of India; Russia has been supplying modern destructive weapons to that country; India's blue water navy is capable of dominating the sea. Under these circumstances, Pakistan had no choice except to embark on a nuclear program, and despite great pressure from the United States, Western countries, and India, Pakistan has remained steadfast in continuing its program. The United States has stopped its aid, but Pakistan's resolve has not faltered. Soon after coming into office, the present Prime Minister Nawaz

Sharif counseled the nation to rely on itself and resist foreign pressure. Thus, America's weapon of stopping aid proved ineffective. Now, an American scholar is offering his government the realistic suggestion that it should restore aid to Pakistan.

Begum Abida Hussain, Pakistan's ambassador to the United States, has also expressed hope that the issue of supplying F-16 planes to Pakistan would be solved this year. If the United States were to base its decisions on realism and justice and cease its unjustified hatred of Pakistan and Muslims, it would restore aid to Pakistan and stop its opposition to the nuclear program, which is essential to the preservation of Pakistan's security, freedom, and safety. If the United States is interested in seeking a suitable solution to the problem, it should seek one which has relevance to the region as a whole.

JI Leaders State U.S. Wants to 'Finish' Muslims

93AS0717A Lahore MUSAWAT in Urdu 13 Mar 93 p 8

[News Report: "Muslim Religious Leaders Must Create Unity Against U.S. Efforts To Wipe Out Muslims"]

[Text] Lahore (Special Report)—"The United States is targeting Muslims now and wants to crush them. Meanwhile, rulers in some Islamic countries are engrossed in themselves, instead of in doing something for the welfare of the masses. The Islamic world must unite its own ranks in order to counter the anti-Islamic activities." This opinion was expressed by Jamaat-i-Islami leaders Mian Tufail Mohammad, Chowdhury Rehmat Illahi, and Anwar Gondal at an Iftar [breaking of fast] party given by Haji Abdul Hamid at Babu Sabu recently. Mian Tufail Mohammed said, "Russian communism has met its natural death and the United States and Western secularism will also not survive in the world for long." He said that the jihad forces in the whole world will gain strength by the establishment of an Islamic government and society in Afghanistan. The way the Afghan people sacrificed their lives and property to fight an atrocious and powerful enemy is unparalleled in world history. He added that the combined efforts of Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Iran have resulted in uniting the Islamic powers on one platform in the form of the Islamabad Agreement. He emphasized that all Muslims should be happy about it and united to remove the kafirs in the world.

Lobbying in Washington Claimed Unsuccessful

93AS0714A Lahore THE NATION in English
14 Mar 93 p 7

[Article by Manzur Ejaz: "Can Lobbying for Kashmir in America Help?"; italicized words and quotation marks as published]

[Text] While the time is running out for Pakistan to prove that it is not abetting terrorist activities in its neighboring state, the national institutions are losing a sense of reality of the present times. Their recent actions

to create some kind of a thinly veiled lobbying cell for the publicity of the liberation of Kashmir in the United States fits into the pattern of self-delusions: It appears that the policy makers in Islamabad cannot come out of the 80's mind-set when the American government herself encouraged Pakistan to carry out a duplicitous policy towards its neighbour, Afghanistan. Somehow Pakistani officials believe that they can repeat its so-called Afghanistan success in the case of Kashmir and the Punjab. For that the Kashmiri issue should be publicised on a scale that becomes as important as Bosnia or Somalia in the American media.

Probably, to achieve this goal a delegation of Kashmiri women was chartered to tour different cities of the United States to inform the public about Indian atrocities in Kashmir. To attract larger crowds *Iftari* and free dinner (a rare fait here) was announced on the ethnic TV programmes. Despite all these attractions and fringe benefits, this was the least successful programme organised by Kashmiri organisations in Washington which are known for being very efficient in managing large conferences in the past. Not only was the meeting poorly attended, it started two hours late a record even according to Pakistani standards.

The composition of the delegation was also less than ideal. Only one of the lady delegates-claimed to have first hand experience of Indian brutalities while two others were from Azad Kashmir. It is surprising why all the delegates were not chosen from the families who had first-hand experience and who could have conveyed a sense of personal suffering and make it more of a natural presentation. (I have attended several Kashmiri gatherings in the past that appeared totally genuine). The speeches were read from the written text like an official script: The speeches were so standardised that it prompted someone to say that if the content will be scrutinised by a whole hierarchy of officials, what will be left in a speech.

It was not clear whether the purpose was to convince Pakistani immigrants about the efforts the Pakistani government is making to liberate Kashmir or to address the American public. We missed the presence of the American public or media except a few black Muslims.

The reality is that Kashmir cannot become a top priority for the American media and public. Not only are the scale of disasters in Bosnia and Somalia different from Kashmir, both have strong constituencies in America. Afro-Americans constitute 12% of the population and lobby for Somalia and other African causes. Bosnia cannot be ignored because, after all, the Bosnians are white Europeans and no one can forget that the last two world wars started from this region. Furthermore, it may sound strange, however, that Serbian ethnic genocide is being vehemently opposed by the Jewish lobby all around the world. Jews fear that if such ethnic cleansing is not opposed in Bosnia today, they will be the next victims.

In such circumstances, the best one can do for the Kashmir cause is to sensitise the American political elite on this issue. Our perception is that the majority of the American political elite does recognize that Kashmir is an indigenous Indian problem and should be solved amicably: Many known pro-India American journalists have come out to speak against the Indian treatment of Kashmiris in public. However, the same political elite believes that Pakistan is engaged in clandestine activities in Kashmir and the Punjab. If the purpose of pro-Kashmir campaigns in the U.S. is to create an environment in which Americans can ignore Pakistani involvement in Kashmir, the probability of success is very low. Preferential treatment for Pakistan was a story of another time, of another place and hard to repeat. If Pakistan's government is expecting that the world will cast a benign eye on this matter, like they did during the Afghan war, it is not going to happen.

Then, the whole world knew of Pakistani intervention in Afghanistan and looked the other way. Moreover, American and other western governments overlooked the involvement of Pakistani officials in illegal drug trafficking, human rights violations and what have you. In short, Pakistani officialdom was treated like a pampered child only because America needed Pakistan's cooperation to make Afghanistan a View Nam for Russia. Eventually the western bloc achieved more than what it expected in the demise of the Soviet Union. Post-Soviet collapse world order has created a unique situation in South Asia where, for the first time in the last 40 years' Pakistan and India are treated equally. Notwithstanding claims and perceptions of Pakistani officials, there is no evidence to suggest that Americans are giving preferential treatment to India. However, lack of preferential treatment upsets Pakistan that has become used to it.

Furthermore, it should be born in mind that the Americans have not put Pakistan on the watch list and served it a notice to prove that it is not a terrorist state just because of Indian lobbying U.S. agencies, having elaborate networks in Pakistan built during the last forty years must have gathered information on Pakistani involvement in Kashmir and the Punjab. If the American demand is based on such concrete information, the lobbying (cells) and propaganda campaign can't fix the problem. In such circumstances Kashmiri or other delegations sent for public relationing are irrelevant. The Pakistan government has to make decisions in some other arenas.

The question is whether Pakistan will be declared a terrorist state at the end of 120 days? Conversations with the diplomatic corp in Washington indicate that Pakistan is not making any efforts to avoid it. Many think that Pakistan does not believe that it will ever be declared a terrorist state. In the Washington circles, such a Pakistan belief appears unreal. We hope that the matters will be resolved diplomatically. Otherwise, the people of Pakistan will suffer tremendously, due to its new 'title.' Pakistan is not Libya which can survive on its oil wealth.

U.S. Jews Said Conspiring Against Nation

93AS0713C Karachi DAWN in English 17 Mar 93 p 14

[Article: "Zahid Sees Conspiracy on Kashmir Issue"; boldface words as published]

[Text] Lahore, March 16: Mian Zahid Sarfraz, MNA [Member of National Assembly], alleged on Monday that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had assured the United States that he was ready to accept the third option on the Kashmir issue and that he had invited, at state expense, a 10-member American delegation led by known pro-Indian Jew Stephen Solarz, to carry the matter forward.

At a news conference, he said the writ before the AJK [Azad Jammu and Kashmir] High Court about the status of the Northern Areas had been filed under a well thought out conspiracy and was aimed at benefiting India.

The conspiracy, he alleged, was to separate Jammu from the Valley and hand it over to India and carve out an independent state of the remaining territory, including Azad Kashmir.

N-Plan Rollback: According to him, this conspiracy was the first step towards rollback of Pakistan's nuclear programme which was the only deterrent against Indian hegemony. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, he said, wanted to repeal the Eighth Amendment to weaken the President who was the last and only obstacle in the way of the rollback of the nuclear programme.

He said Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had staked the very integrity of the country for his personal interests and invitation to the U.S. delegation had exposed all his intentions. He said there was a time when Nawaz Sharif bitterly criticised the then Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto for having invited Stephen Solarz, although he was at that time chairman at the Congress's Foreign Relations Committee. But forgetting that criticism he had invited the same person at a time when he was just nothing, Zahid Sarfraz said.

According to him, the delegation members were meeting people from various walks of life and Ambassador Abida had arranged this programme. He said Mr Solarz's offer that he could mediate between Pakistan and India was a matter of great concern.

He said unfortunately when Pakistan presented Kashmir's map to the United Nations back in 1948, the Northern Areas were shown as parts of the disputed territory. In fact, he said this was wrong and these areas had never been a part of Kashmir. The Maharaja, he recalled, had only annexed these areas with Kashmir.

He alleged that the Jewish lobby wanted to get Pakistan's nuclear programme rolled back and once the Kashmir issue was resolved through such conspiracies, a justification for the same would be available.

He asked the President to "open his eyes" and frustrate this conspiracy by dissolving the present assemblies. He also appealed to the people to play their role in this regard.

'Conspiracy' Alleged Underway to Declare Nation Terrorist

93AS0719C Karachi JANG in Urdu 18 Mar 93 p 3

[Article by Salim Yazdani: "Conspiracy to Declare Pakistan Terrorist!"]

[Text] The Egyptian king dreamed about seven frail cows eating seven fat cows and also dreamed about seven green and seven dried fields of corn. He was greatly upset after this dream and asked everyone to interpret the dream. However, no one could tell him anything. Hazrat Yusuf Aliaul Islam, who was a prophet of God and was in the Egyptian king's jail at that time, interpreted the dream for the king. He told him that his people would plow the land for seven years and use what they grew according to their needs during the seven years. They were to save the leftover grains because the following seven years would be very difficult. The saved grains would help them at that time.

Hazrat Yusuf Aliaul Islam's story is in the Koran's 12th chapter and is called Yusuf's Chapter. This story is called one of the best stories. This story is very long and has many parts. I have presented only the dream part for the sake of brevity. We will build this column around this story.

The stories related in the Koran were not told just to tell stories. These were used as historical references for instructing and guiding people. They prove very practical and sagacious if we pay close attention.

Pakistan is passing through a very critical period now. We hear again and again of efforts to find excuses for declaring Pakistan a terrorist nation. The U.S. media controlled by the Jews is campaigning vigorously to declare Pakistan a terrorist nation. The Indian lobby is also giving it its full support. Our own countrymen in the name of protecting human rights are not far behind in giving Pakistan a bad name. According to news reports, the United States has given Pakistan 180 days to prove that it is not involved in terrorism.

The U.S. media is propagandizing against Pakistan's nuclear program continuously. Pakistan is also accused of being involved in terrorism in East Punjab and occupied Kashmir. Pakistan is also being accused of smuggling drugs. Information is being circulated that some very important leaders in Pakistan are involved in drug smuggling. The U.S. media has started yet another scandal about Pakistanis entering the United States illegally. The Pakistani embassy in Washington has openly denied this allegation. All of this indicates the direction of these efforts.

Are all these efforts aimed at declaring Pakistan a terrorist nation? We should also reflect whether the present constitutional and political crisis was caused by an American conspiracy. This is an entirely different issue. The question we are facing now is whether we are ready if we are declared a terrorist nation.

May God give better judgment to the Americans (there is little hope of it, though). If the United States declares Pakistan a terrorist nation, we will join the ranks of North Korea, Iran, Syria, Libya, and Iraq. This would stop all kinds of trade relations with the United States. The United States can also impose trade restrictions against Pakistan and can ask countries under its influence to follow suit. It is also possible for all Pakistani assets to be frozen in those countries. What will the Government of Pakistan do in such a situation? The first important step is to totally remove the atmosphere of conflict both at national and state levels in this country. An effective strategy must be formulated for this purpose.

How will we meet our defense needs? Pakistan is not in a position to import defense implements from the United States because of the Pressler Amendment. These problems will get worse if we are declared a terrorist nation. Therefore, we must find ways to purchase defense equipment.

As for international trade, we must predict how much our imports and exports will be affected and how we will rectify the problems. Prudence dictates that even the Koran can help us in such a situation if we sit down and think seriously.

We must practice simplicity at every level and stop wasting things necessary for living. We must conserve them for times of need so that if restrictions are imposed on Pakistan, we can brave those and maintain our national pride.

We must establish relationships with the nations that can help Pakistan.

God forbid, however, if the United States imposes restrictions and other nations follow suit, the countries that will be important for us are: People's Republic of China, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, and Central Asian Muslim countries. Pakistan's relations with Libya, Syria, and Iraq are not very good. However, there are possibilities of our uniting against a common enemy.

We can plan by following the Yusuf story that I recounted in the beginning of this article. This work cannot be done by the Government alone; the whole nation will have to stand behind the Government like a lead wall. Then, we will be ready to face the problem.

Pakistan is not a country with unlimited resources. We have to manage with our available resources. We will have to start planning for additional resources also. We will not be able to confront the situation properly if we wait for the floods before starting to build a dam.

Pakistan can survive this situation only if we are all united, and every person is ready to make any kind of sacrifice for the sake of Pakistan. The other alternative for us is to accept the U.S. point of view and bring our nuclear program to the zero point.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, former Pakistani prime minister, also had to face a situation to what Ghulam Ishaq Khan is facing today. Ghulam Ishaq Khan has not shown us his cards and has not told us how we will fight this crisis that will begin to show its effects within a few days. The U.S. pressure is increasing very fast and Pakistan's reaction to it will be in front of us soon.

The situation indicates that Mian Sharif's government has failed in satisfying the United States. This is why the U.S. Government is increasing its pressure, using excuses such as nuclear program, terrorism, human rights violations, drug smuggling, and illegal entry into the United States.

Mian Sharif has developed some cooperation with the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance], and this is a good indication. However, in my opinion, this should have been done a long time ago. The harm has already been done. The political atmosphere has not settled yet and every political party is ready to use its trump card for exerting political pressure. What really is necessary is to develop understanding among all the political parties in the nation. Is it possible to have effective results by ignoring Jamaat-i-Islami, Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam, and the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement]? If the Government thinks that it has sound reasoning for doing so, it should go ahead and do it.

We will have the ability to confront the situation created by external pressures only when the whole nation is together on one platform. Groupism and party politics can hurt us so badly that there will be no remedy left. Our political parties have left no stone unturned in insulting our state agencies, justice system, assemblies, press, presidency, and military. They are ready to do anything to further their vested interests.

If the thankless friend of Pakistan, the United States of America, does not stop its actions, one positive result will be that Pakistan will be able to stand on its own feet after going through a difficult time. When all avenues are closed, Pakistan will be able to find new ways. However, for this we must follow the directions given in Yusuf's Chapter and not by politicking.

Foreign Intelligence Agencies Said Increasingly Active

93AS0714H Karachi HERALD in English 15 Feb 93
p 32

[Article: "The Spooks Are Back"]

[Text] *Foreign intelligence agencies have massively expanded their operations in Islamabad. But this time*

round, they are not watching out for communists; they are hot on the trail of Islamic fundamentalist instead.

During the Afghan war, Islamabad was famous for hosting one of the largest CIA stations in the world. Western, Arab and Soviet bloc intelligence agents swarmed the capital, trying to pick favourites from amongst the mujahideen and sift through news reports about the war. Once Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan, many of these agents went home—and Islamabad became just another mundane Third World capital. But not for much longer...

Over the last year, foreign intelligence agencies have once again massively expanded their presence in Islamabad. The only difference is that this time round, they are not watching out for communists; they are hot on the trail of Islamic fundamentalists instead.

The CIA has always been weak on the ground as far as penetrating the fundamentalists is concerned, and relies heavily on input from its allies. Much of the 'evidence' regarding support to Kashmiris from Islamic groups based in Pakistan and aid to the Sikhs has been provided to the CIA by the British MI6 and the French and Gulf Arab agencies, according to reliable sources. MI6, incidentally, has always had good information on the fundamentalists dating back from the days of the British Raj.

The new players in this round of the espionage game are the Arabs. Countries like Egypt and Algeria, the Gulf states and Saudi Arabia have suddenly increased their intelligence staff at their Islamabad embassies to monitor the activities of their own nationals, who may have joined up with the Jamaat or Hekmatyar's Hizbe Islami. Iranian agents are also watching the Arabs, who in turn are watching Iran, while everyone is watching the fundamentalists. Most agencies are eager to penetrate fundamentalist groups, especially the Jamaat-e-Islami, and to set up effective moles in the party. Meanwhile, North African Arab countries consider Pakistan and Afghanistan to be the training ground for their own militants, and keep close tabs on who is here so that they can follow them when they return home.

Western agencies are also closely monitoring the Sudanese, who are said to have established close links with the Jamaat and Hizbe Islami, while the Russian embassy, much depleted and barely effective, is trying to unearth links between Pakistani fundamentalists and those from Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

Meanwhile, China's intelligence network is also active in this country, because of the alleged Jamaat fermented unrest that occurred in Chinese Central Asia two years ago. The issue soured relations between China and Pakistan because the Chinese directly accused the ISI of being involved, while Pakistan vehemently denied the charges.

Nuclear Program Reviewed, Analyzed

93AS0718B Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 9 Mar 93 p 4

[Article by Homaira Gauhar, Public Information Department, Karachi University: "Pakistan's Nuclear Program"]

[Text] When in 1974 under the guise of a scientific experiment India exploded a nuclear device in Rajasthan near the Sindh border, it was a foregone conclusion that Pakistan would become worried about its security. India had never been a good neighbor to Pakistan, nor had it ever truly accepted Pakistan's existence. From the very beginning of Pakistan's creation, India busily hatched plots to destroy the new-born country. India created situations which could have brought a quick end to Pakistan's existence. But under Qaid-I-Azam's courageous leadership, the people of Pakistan faced all hardships with great determination and trampled into dust the evil plots of their enemy. Because of India, Pakistan, soon after its creation, had to face two fronts which opened up in Kashmir and Rann of Kutch. India continued to conspire and plot against Pakistan, and in 1965 it launched a sudden attack on Pakistan hoping to capture much territory. But India was beaten back. To avenge the defeat of its dastardly and unsuccessful attempt, it tried a new strategy, which resulted in the separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan and the establishment of Bangladesh. But India was still not satisfied and continued its efforts to destroy the rest of Pakistan. Its secret agents infiltrated Pakistan through Sindh and started a series of terrorist actions (which continue to this day).

Pakistan had already suffered many wounds at India's hands, and the incident (of a nuclear explosion in Rajasthan) increased Pakistan's apprehension. The nuclear explosion near Sindh's border clearly revealed India's frightening intentions; hence, to strengthen its own defenses, Pakistan had to look to nuclear energy; moreover, Pakistan badly needed nuclear energy to provide the necessities of life for its burgeoning population and to accelerate progress in agriculture, industry, health, and other fields. Hence, to achieve its peaceful aims, Pakistan launched a nuclear program, which was definitely free of any aggressive objectives.

When Western countries, especially the United States, got wind of Pakistan's nuclear program, they started immediately to express their anxiety and exerted great pressure on Pakistan to abandon its dream of acquiring modern technology (and this in spite of the fact that even today the United States, Russia, and other European countries are trying to outdistance each other in the nuclear race, and other countries, among them India, South Africa, and Israel, are working on their own nuclear programs, which have not aroused any strong reactions). The reason is that the United States and other countries cannot tolerate a country that was created in the name of Islam to obtain modern technology and get ahead in the race for progress. These countries are also

afraid that, if this technology were transferred to other Islamic countries, they would unite and form a front and then could no longer be easily used as puppets to further the interests of these other powers.

In spite of every kind of pressure, Pakistani governments managed to continue the [nuclear] program (although at a somewhat slow speed) until 1979, when the Soviet attack on Afghanistan linked U.S. interests to Pakistan. The United States warmly welcomed relations with Pakistan, and as long as it needed Pakistan's help, the United States remained more or less silent about Pakistan's nuclear program. But as soon as the defeated Russian troops withdrew from Afghanistan in 1990, and the crash of the 70 year old communist structure left the United States the sole superpower, the United States again adopted the attitude of neglect and coldness toward Pakistan, and Pakistan's nuclear program also became the target of this coldness. The U.S. Senate immediately passed and implemented without delay a special bill called the Pressler Amendment, which was aimed against Pakistan's nuclear program, under which Pakistan's nuclear program was used as justification for suspending military and economic aid, which remains suspended to this day. After the implementation of the Pressler Amendment, the campaign waged by Jewish, Indian, and Western lobbies against Pakistan's nuclear program intensified, and their strongly conducted but false propaganda created numerous difficulties for Pakistan. Today Pakistan is facing great economic hardships. The expected economic aid from Japan has been postponed as a result of this negative propaganda, and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's recent tour of Japan was totally swallowed up by explanations about the nuclear program. The earlier agreement with France regarding a nuclear reactor has not been implemented, and other countries are also being pressured not to give any kind of aid to Pakistan.

The United States is also pressuring Pakistan to sign unilaterally the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty [NPT] for preventing the spread of nuclear weapons in South Asia; but on this issue, Pakistan has said unequivocally that, even though it is entirely in favor of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons in this region, nevertheless, Pakistan is forced by its security needs to refrain from signing the treaty as long as India refuses to do so. On the other hand, India consistently refuses to sign the NPT and continues to increase its nuclear power, but neither the United States nor other Western countries put any kind of pressure on India; on the contrary, these countries have increased their aid to India, thus indirectly encouraging it even further. The same countries who are carrying on unjustified propaganda against Pakistan are bent on making India a nuclear power in South Asia. India possesses more than 160 nuclear bombs and is now advancing towards building a hydrogen bomb; it is constantly building new missiles and aiming them toward Pakistan. But in spite of these facts, India and its nuclear program are regarded as peaceful, and its relations with the United States and other Western countries

continue to improve. The West's double standard is a matter for thought in Pakistan. Not only are attempts being made to harm Pakistan's nuclear program but to destabilize the country economically as well; the aim then is to so cripple Pakistan as to make it an easy prey for its enemies, especially India.

The propaganda against Pakistan mentions the construction of eight nuclear bombs by that country; if this is true, why do eight bombs inspire such fear, when Western countries have huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons? If there are numerous nuclear bombs in South Asia in the possession of countries other than Pakistan, and if these bombs pose no danger, why should Pakistan's few nuclear bombs have any significance?

The fact is that, in view of the rapid increase in India's nuclear strength, it is essential for Pakistan to accelerate its pace in the interests of its safety and existence.

In our view, in order to restore the balance of power in South Asia, Pakistan should improve its nuclear program. Pakistan should stop its apologetic attitude regarding its nuclear policy, and in spite of threats and the end of international aid, it should carry out its nuclear program openly and urgently, because this is the only way to ensure Pakistan's existence.

Indian-Israeli Collusion Feared

93AS0719A Karachi JANG in Urdu 12 Mar 93 p 3

[Editorial: "India-Israeli Nuclear Cooperation"]

[Text] We are very concerned about the news of cooperation between Israel and India to build a nuclear plant in Rajasthan. These two countries have been secretly cooperating in the area of nuclear and defense technology for a long time; however, this has been greatly accelerated after diplomatic relations between the two countries were established one and one-half years ago. Israel is a dangerous nuclear power in the Middle East. Various international agencies have confirmed that it has dozens of nuclear bombs that endanger its neighboring Arab countries's safety and existence. Similarly, India's nuclear capability and its expansionist designs in South Asia are not secret. Nuclear collaboration between these two belligerent and expansionist countries is analogous to a danger alarm. This not only unmasks India's and Israel's secret ambitions but also jeopardizes peace and regional stability in South Asia and the Middle East. The nuclear cooperation between India and Israel also tells us about negative policies and double standards practiced by the United States of America and other Western nations. They impose new restrictions daily on Pakistan, using its peaceful nuclear program as an excuse, and disregard dangerous nuclear preparations by such maniacal and aggressive nations as India and Israel. This serious situation is like a new challenge for Islamic nations, because the cooperation between India and Israel is based in their enmity for Islam. Muslim countries must form a solid plan to deal with this serious situation.

JUI Leader Calls For Establishment of 'Islamic UN'

93AS0717B Lahore MUSAWAT in Urdu 15 Mar 93 p 4

[Article: "Apprehension of Journalists"]

[Text] The whole world is condemning incidents that violate basic human rights. Various international organizations closely examine these incidents and serve orally or in writing the governments and people who are involved in such actions. More important than that is the fact that the United Nations permits military action against such forces and sends armed forces to the countries where the lives of the people are threatened. However, our kind leaders do not understand what is happening around the world and where the world is heading while we are going in another direction. Shahid Kazai is a free-lance journalist and was sentenced by the Supreme Court. The police took all the journalists in Rawalpindi hostages while trying to arrest him and humiliated them for one hour. Later, the police raided the FRONTIER POST and harassed the employees there. They even tried to arrest the chief reporter of this English daily without any reason. The police also were very rude to other newspaper employees. This is the way the Government vindicated itself and delivered the message that whoever criticizes the Government will be treated this way. The Supreme Court imparted its decision as it wished. However, did the actions of the policy follow the court orders? This is for the Supreme Court to decide. The Pakistani people are bound by the Supreme Court decision. They may not agree with it, but they cannot criticize it orally or in writing. Still, we have to think about the effect of these actions at the international level. We have to see if the Government of Pakistan and its police will use such court decisions to abuse the journalists wherever and whenever they want to. The Supreme Court has provided a very good excuse to the police now and has told them that they may raid any place and have the court's support for their inhuman attitude. During the Long March, the police took action at will and whimsically restricted the movement of journalists. It is not important to mention minor incidents here. At times, when there was a press conference of some PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] leader, the assistant commissioners of Islamabad and Rawalpindi would themselves block the journalists. If some journalists objected, they ordered the police to beat them. The Rawalpindi assistant commissioner checked the identification card of the MUSAWAT correspondent himself and told him that he was not to be admitted because he worked for the MUSAWAT and should do what was told for his own safety. The attitude of Islamabad and Rawalpindi toward journalists since then has become so bad, as if the journalists are not citizens of Pakistan. Interestingly enough, the Government has not taken any action against this inhuman attitude of the police. This means that the Government has given the police permission to use terror. I visited the Rawalpindi press club the day after the Supreme Court decision and found that the police had taken over the press club. All chairs in the

press club were occupied by policemen creating an atmosphere of total apprehension. I was wondering what to do because I felt that the press club was sealed. First I thought about asking them what was going on but also thought that I could be arrested just for asking this question. Well, I thought my being free would be useless if other journalists have been arrested. I took courage and asked what was wrong and was told that the journalists were planning a demonstration at 1500 and they were there to control the demonstration. The entry of the police into the press club with their clubs and their causing of fear proves that the Government aims to totally scare the journalists. Only time will tell how successful the Government will be in controlling the journalists. The Government should impose something equivalent to the Eighth Amendment to control the journalists' pens and cameras just like President Ghulam Ishaq Khan uses it to control the Parliament.

New World Order Called Cold War Against Islam

93AS0720B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
10 Mar 93 p 8

[Article by Professor Ishfaq Ali Khan: "Cold War Against the Islamic World Under the New World Order"]

[Text] There are more than 30 Islamic cultural and religious organizations in the state of Michigan. In the last days of the Bush administration, one heard the same statement repeated in every gathering of Muslims, namely, that the tragedy of the Gulf war was the outcome of the decline of the Muslims in the present age. This decline became apparent following the end of the Islamic caliphate. The Jews and their underlings the Americans succeeded in the Gulf because the Muslim nation was incapable of defending itself. One often hears Muslim intellectuals and philosophers in the United States express the belief that the renewal of the Islamic nation depends largely on understanding the real reasons for the decline of the Muslims.

Intellectuals around the world have been saying that Muslims in almost every country possess religious fervor, and thus it would be true to say that in an Islamic country the average Muslim is full of vitality and capable of sacrifice; the Muslim people use their capabilities to further national interests as they understand them and are always ready to defend Islam. These indications of national fervor are to be seen in every country. At the outset of the Gulf War, Pakistanis demonstrated fervent support for Iraq, and they ignored international Jewish propaganda. Then the exigencies of the time caused the Government of Pakistan to support Saudi Arabia, and the people understood the reasons behind this policy. The Muslim people of Turkey have similar feelings. Kamal Ataturk's leanings toward Western national secularism did not purge the feelings of nationalism from the hearts of the people. [At the time of Pakistan's creation] Pakistanis travelling to Turkey said that the people of Turkey were very happy that Pakistan came

into being. Most meaningful and thought provoking are the events taking place in Algeria where the people mostly follow the ways and customs of Southern Europe, especially France, and speak the French language. But in the national elections, the people voted for those candidates who supported the Islamic system of government and laws. The same Western powers who tout democracy conspired to prevent the establishment of an Islamic government and kept in power the minority they favored.

Since we receive all our news through the Western media, we do not know about any resistance by the Muslims of Algeria. We are thus forced to conclude that the people of Algeria are keeping intact their ties with Islam and biding their time. The times demand that Muslim scholars, researchers, writers, and journalists go to Algeria and inform the world and the Muslims in particular of conditions there; this would help in understanding and formulating a successful Islamic policy in the new world order. Here in the United States, one gets the impression that the Jewish enemies of Islam are intensely conscious of the power of the religious fervor of Muslims. The world of atheism and idolatry is afflicted with selfishness and the worship of luxury and does not have the capacity, which one sees in the people of Islamic countries, for sacrificing worldly resources in the pursuit of spiritual and moral principles. On the other hand, Muslims lack the material resources that are necessary for triumphing over evil. In the West, the majority of the people possess the basic education without which one cannot venture into the world of machinery and tools. Our first priority should be to introduce the kind of public education needed for restoring unity to the Muslim world. The knowledge that exists at present in the Islamic world should be utilized in the new planning aimed at making the Muslim nation a united moral and material force. If this is not done, when the crucial time comes, Muslims will be left vainly regretting the fact that they did not unite in preparing for their survival. According to Western philosophy, a barrier exists between the people and the government in Muslim countries, and the Muslim rulers stay somewhat aloof from their people. In my humble view, it is not worthwhile for the Muslim people to follow this Western political philosophy, and it would not benefit Muslims to promote this philosophy. Western democracy and the public media are toys in the hands of opinion makers and it is necessary that Muslim lovers of democracy purify and restore to health these institutions so that the world may see what constitutes Islamic democracy. The new policy of creating institutions has spread in the United States, and many such organizations are set up to exploit, cheat, plunder, discourage, and abuse the people.

Under the guise of improving the lives of the people and benefitting them, these institutions strengthen the power of capitalists and the lords of the media. The Western Jewish media keep the people happy and entertained with false promises and stories of crime and pseudo

scientific research. Muslims constitute a fifth of all humanity, and they have fallen behind substantially in knowledge and research; nevertheless, the Jewish rulers of the new world order perceive Islam as the only force which can overturn their present Pharaonic power. Hence, to ensure their safety and existence, the Muslim nation should formulate a world strategy and begin implementing it. A very important point to be noted here is that the aims of the Muslim nation are not the same as those of the old and new Pharaohs. Islam forbids the Muslims from establishing a so-called Islamic dictatorship on the lines of the present Western dictatorship under which they would appropriate all wealth and power to themselves and leave 80 percent of the rest of humanity in poverty, need, and subjugation. History shows that the followers of Islam never acted in this manner. The Muslims ruled Spain for 800 years with complete social and military power and brought civilization to the people of that area. But the Muslims did not attack the religion or beliefs of the people. However, when a Christian European government came into power, the Muslims of that area were put to the sword. Spain learned the arts and sciences from the Muslims and used the knowledge to establish the largest state in Asia [as published]; the Spaniards became consumed with greed and destroyed the Aztec and Inca civilizations. Their actions are regarded as the worst examples of the massacre of humans for the sake of gold. The Muslims brought scientific knowledge and new civilization to Europe; the Muslims ruled Bosnia, Yugoslavia, and other areas of Eastern Europe for 600 years but did not change the local religion or society. Today, these same people are shedding the blood of Muslims. Hundreds of thousands of Muslims are being murdered and driven from their homes in contravention of international laws, and all this is happening while NATO forces are stationed in Europe.

The fact is that prior to these happenings, the Muslims were rendered powerless in the name of law. The tragedy in Bosnia lends credence to the fear that in order to obtain the natural resources of Muslim countries, the nations of Europe and America will use their modern weapons against Muslim armies and people. Before racist and bloodthirsty powers begin using their new weapons against Africa and Asia, in order to satisfy the needs of their increasing populations, the Muslim nation should start to prepare itself today rather than wait for tomorrow. If one looks at Islamic beliefs and the history of the last 1,500 years, one realizes that the Muslim nation is in fact a unity and an entity, which should be brought into existence before the world's joint aggressive forces launch their attack on another Islamic country and destroy everything that it possesses as they did in Iraq. What stands in the way of the unity of the Muslim nation is the philosophy which advocates nationalism and love of country and is influencing the minds of the people. Bloodshed in Bosnia, the death of children in bomb blasts in England and Ireland, local fighting in Russia, war preparations in Latvia and Lithuania, the loss of life in South Africa, violence in Sri Lanka, and

race riots and tensions in the United States—these are disasters which plague mankind. Every country wants its citizens, of different races and speaking different languages, to live together like brothers, thus converting into political thinking the fact of the common ancestry of all humans and the equality of their rights. Despite the prevailing philosophy of nationalism and love of country, it is necessary for the Muslims to bring about the unity of all Islamic countries. Undoubtedly, the enemies of Muslims and Islam will oppose this; however, if the stagnant state of the Organization of Islamic Conference is ended and if, with the help of knowledge, the outline of a new Islamic world order is prepared, under which the rights of all groups and nations are guaranteed, then the defense capabilities of Islamic countries, their naval, land, and air forces, could be utilized in a better fashion.

Our readers may remember that in 1989, large scale corruption, embezzlement, and treachery came to light in the savings and loan institutions that are supposed to invest money in worthwhile projects. Prosperous U.S. citizens had deposited \$500 billion in these corporations, which went bankrupt because of the actions of their corrupt officials. President George Bush used \$48 billion of the public treasury to set up a government corporation which used an additional \$39 billion to run the bankrupt savings and loan institutions and make good their losses. President Bush's son, Neil Bush, worked for one of these savings and loan institutions and drew a very large salary. The Jewish lobby forced Bush to work for them by threatening to publicize Neil Bush's mistakes. Our readers can read details of this matter in the 1989 to 1991 publications of weekly journals such as TIME and NEWSWEEK.

In short, fearful of the terrifying power of the Jewish media, President Bush continued to serve international Zionist interests and finally, in the Gulf War, inflicted a deep wound on the Islamic world, from which it has not yet recovered.

The slander, dissension mongering, and ridicule which the international Jewish media have directed against Islam and Muslims have resulted in a great loss to Muslims all over the world in that their national defenses have grown weak. The educated and prosperous Muslim classes have begun to believe the false accusations of the Jews. Individuals such as Farrakhan and Malcolm X resisted the enemy in the United States and gave jaw-shattering answers to these false accusations; thus they are now regarded as major leaders by the world media and the Blacks are receiving better treatment.

What is needed at the present time is for the world organization of Muslims, which calls itself Organization of Islamic Conference, to emerge from its stagnant state and use the most effective weapons of the time, namely, communication and propaganda, to further the interests of Muslims. A prerequisite of the unity of Muslims is that inhabitants of Islamic countries meet each other. Muslim countries should provide opportunities to

Muslim students from other countries to enter their universities; Arabic should be taught as well as English because Arabic was the source from which the springs of Islam flow. Arabic is also the language in which matters concerning the [Muslim] nation can be expressed in an Islamic fashion. Regular exchanges of visits of Muslim leaders and authorities should be arranged so that Muslims may see that the ties of the Islamic brotherhood are being forged.

Knowledge is God's ambassador, hence the acquisition of knowledge should be made available on a large scale. An understanding of the modern world should be awakened in the Muslims whose large majorities, though backward and poor, are ready to sacrifice everything in the name of God and for the interests of their nation. Research should be conducted to devise an Islamic syllabus for schools, universities, and other educational institutions, which would include the teaching of Arabic and religious subjects.

Such projects can be carried out at the present time in Indonesia, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, and Egypt, where progress has been made to a certain extent in the acquisition of modern knowledge, and teachers for the new Islamic subjects can be found.

Regional Affairs

Regional ECO Said 'Doomed' to Unlucky Fate

93AS0677A Lahore THE FRIDAY TIMES in English
24 Feb 93 p 3

[Editorial: "ECO or What?"]

[Text] Some Pakistani commentators have gushed about the recent Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO) moot at Quetta as being "momentous," "historic," "imaginative" and "bold." We might be more circumspect. The region's geopolitics could conceivably reduce all the grandiose "bonding" plans of the ECO to nought.

Successful "economic cooperation" between countries is premised on a number of crucial factors: (1) a commonality of stable, institutionalised state structures which lend themselves to "bonding." (2) a world outlook which transcends the burdens of a messy historic "past" and supplements the modern capitalist urge for economic assimilation and political uniformity. (3) a complementarity of economies which sustains equitable trade and aid rather than economic imperialism. The EEC and ASEAN countries fulfill these requirements. SAARC does not. How do the ECO states fare on this scale?

Rather dismally, we fear. The driving forces behind the ECO are the "Big 3"—Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. The economic and political structures of these countries, as well as their security concerns and alliances with the US, were not too dissimilar nearly three decades ago when they launched plans for Regional Cooperation and Development (RCD). Yet, they didn't make much

headway. Today, by contrast, Turkey's state is as avowedly "secular" as Iran's is "Islamic." Turkey is solidly behind the US, Iran is implacably opposed to it. Pakistan is lost somewhere in-between. Despite the pious rhetoric, chances are they will push and shove, rather than cooperate with, one another.

Or consider the problems of the Central Asia states. Newly independent, their freedom was determined not by any indigenous movement with conscious goals and political structures but by the disintegration of the USSR. Such a sudden route to nationhood makes construction of viable state structures difficult in the short term and makes "bonding" impossible.

This is their current status. (1) Their borders were artificially drawn when they were assimilated into the USSR. These cut across 100 ethnic and national groups spread over five states. Major inter-ethnic conflicts haunt them, making rapid state-consolidation impossible. (2) Their military, police and administrative forces—state apparatuses—exist only in an embryonic form. The security environment is compounded by the fact that the CIS retains military bases and defence interests in all of them. (3) Their political parties, systems and leaders are hangovers from a communist past—authoritarianism struggles with religious ideology and democracy for primacy. Notions of civil society and political stability are hard to come by. (4) Russia remains an overbearing factor in all calculations. Each country has sizeable Russian minorities (9 million out of 55 million). Significant numbers of Russian troops are still stationed there. Their economies continue to depend on backward and forward linkages with Russia. Consequently, Russia will remain a paramount influence on their states and societies for years to come. (5) Their economies are stagnating, production structures are severely distorted, they have no independent currencies or hard cash reserves. They know nothing of economic management or market forces. These are serious obstacles to economic "bonding." (6) Russia and the West are determined to promote secularism and democracy in Central Asia. They will not allow Islamic Iran or non-secular Pakistan to establish strategic footholds in the region.

Now come to Afghanistan. Here is a country devastated by 14 years of continuing civil war and blood-letting with no end in sight. There is no government to speak of, much less a state. It remains a victim of interfering neighbours seeking territories and warlords of influence. How can it play any meaningful role in the ECO?

In fact, the motives of Turkey, Iran and Pakistan are mundane enough. They are all seeking desperate extensions of their home markets which, in the old days, was called "imperialism." Turkey has taken a flying start. It is secular and has Western backing. It has earmarked over US\$ 1 billion in soft loans and commercial credits spread over 40 bilateral agreements. Iran is also putting in men and money. Both offer, in due course, direct overland routes to the sea.

Interestingly enough, Turkey and Iran know the score. It is Pakistan which is deluding itself. We do not have the financial resources to match those offered by Turkey and Iran. Even the US\$ 60 million in credits to Central Asia committed by Economics Minister Assef Ali a year ago has not yet been coughed up. We are also crucially dependent on Afghanistan for giving us access to Central Asia. But that may not materialise for years to come.

Is it any surprise then that, behind the lofty talk of "momentous" initiatives being taken at Quetta, the Big 3 could only bring themselves to commit a paltry US\$ 100,000 each for preparing feasibility studies for a host of ambitious economic projects? The ECO is doomed to meet a fate worse than that of the RCD. It is going to be every country for itself and the devil take the hindmost.

Editorial Expresses Fear Over Indian Arms Buildup

93AS0713H Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES
in English 1 Mar 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Indian Arms Build-Up"; italicized words as published]

[Text] According to reports, India's defence budget amounting to Rs [Rupees] 17,500 crore for the current year is to be increased to Rs. 19,180 crore in the next fiscal year. Keeping in view the full convertibility of the Indian rupee on the current account and reduced interest rates, the increase in terms of money for the year 1993-94 would amount to Rs. 1,680 crore. However, the Indian Defence Ministry feels that such a "meagre" rise in the budgetary outlay for defence would not enable it to carry out its new acquisition programmes.

India's massive military build-up in recent years is no secret. According to reliable reports, it had acquired 290 kilograms of weapons-grade plutonium by the end of 1991, enough to produce 50 atomic bombs. In late 1985 or early 1986 India began separating unrestricted and unsafeguarded plutonium at a second plant at its Tarapur nuclear facility. This activity signalled that India could obtain plutonium from its own reactors which it is entirely free to use in its nuclear weapons. One of the more surprising aspects of the Indian nuclear weapons programme is the interest in developing thermonuclear or hydrogen bombs. In a deadly combination of its nuclear programme, New Delhi has developed and test-fired sophisticated surface-to-surface missiles capable of delivering nuclear warheads at long-distance targets. Only in August last, India test-launched its sophisticated multi-million dollar medium-range missile, *Prithvi*, for the ninth time. It can deliver nuclear warheads up to a distance of 250 kilometres. The development of another missile, *Agni*, has fuelled fears that India is planning to develop nuclear-tipped missiles. The build-up of a massive nuclear arsenal by New Delhi, along with development of sophisticated nuclear warhead delivery systems, is an ominous indication of New

Delhi's hegemonic designs. Even in conventional weaponry, India has been frantically acquiring arms from Russia, the United States, France and Sweden. It is high time major world powers realised the dangers inherent in arming India to the teeth. It is in the interest of world peace to curb New Delhi's hegemonic ambitions.

Indian Position on Kashmir Condemned

93AS07131 Lahore *THE PAKISTAN TIMES* in English
8 Mar 93 p 6

[Article by Inayatullah: "Kashmir—Time of Build Up Pressure on India"]

[Text] Kashmir is in the news again. Reports about the findings of Amnesty International and Asia Watch regarding brutal action by barbaric Indian security forces in the Held Valley have served to highlight the failure of the Indian military repression. These accounts of gross violations of human rights by the agents of the so-called largest democracy in the world have also underscored the need for the international community to do something concrete to restrain the bloody hand of the Indian government.

According to a joint release by the Asia Watch and Physicians for Human Rights Group, the uprising of the Kashmiris is an armed conflict "to which both international human rights and international law apply." it further states: "Virtually every one taken into custody by the security forces in Kashmir is tortured. Methods of torture include severe beatings, electric shocks, suspension by the feet or hands, stretching the legs apart, burning with heated objects and sexual molestation." The report accuses Indian security forces of routinely violating international humanitarian laws which offer protection to medical workers as well as the wounded and the sick and warns of medical catastrophe unless New Delhi granted access to the International Committee of the Red Cross to provide medical and humanitarian relief to the civilians in the Kashmir Valley. "The Amnesty International too has come out with its annual report on Kashmir. It provides statistics about the killing of thousands of Kashmiris, arresting and torturing of many more and destruction of schools and homes of the Valley Muslims.

India's utterly unreasonable attitude towards Kashmir can be gauged from the fact that it has not hesitated to warn Pakistan not to take up the question of human rights violation in Kashmir at the U.N. Human Rights Commission currently meeting in Geneva. It has threatened Pakistan of "serious consequences" and advised the latter to desist from introducing a resolution on the subject.

Another noteworthy development in regard to Kashmir is the extension authorised by the Indian Parliament in the period of the president's rule in the state. As this extension will complete the three years permitted by the Indian Constitution for direct central rule, sweet voices

have emanated from the Indian ministers for a willingness to hold elections and concede the "militants" the right to form a government if they win a majority of seats. To this offer, a befitting reply has come from the Kashmiri leaders who have not only rejected the move but have given a new expression to their resolve to continue struggle for independence even if all the Kashmiris were killed by the Indian forces.

Notice also needs to be taken of the remarks made by the new Indian foreign minister, Dinesh Singh, in an interview with "Kahleej Times" on the India-Pakistan relations. Mr. Singh, harping on the old tune, said that Kashmir is "our internal affairs." When asked if Kashmiris too should be involved along with India and Pakistan in discussions on Kashmir, the minister replied that the present situation in that State would be resolved by the government of India through restoration of the democratic process once the problem of terrorism has been tackled. "Pakistan," he added, "has no locus standi."

In other words what the Indian foreign minister is saying is that all the advice coming from even such India sympathetic world leaders as John Major Prime Minister of U.K., and the Chancellor of Germany is mere hogwash as both of them specifically called for the settlement of the Kashmir issue through India-Pakistan discussions under the Simla Agreement.

In the circumstances, Pakistan's strategy on Kashmir should largely be based on the following two points:

(1) Pakistan has a just and strong case on Kashmir. The matter stands Internationalised and its internationalisation is enshrined in U.N. Security Council's resolutions. Despite India's unimaginable intransigence, the whole world acknowledges and accepts Kashmir as an international question which has yet to be settled. It is now for Pakistan to ensure that India lows before the world opinion and pressure. To bring this about, Pakistan needs to step up its diplomatic efforts. All that it needs to do is to engage various governments and especially the advanced democracies, to recognise the pmpertiveness of the commitments of the U.N. and the international community for an urgent consideration of the long-pending case of Kashmir. None other than Pakistan has to do this job and it, indeed, is obligated to do so not only for the repressed Kashmiris but also for its own future.

(2) The gross violation of human rights in Kashmir needs to be publicised in various ways all over the world with a view of forcing India through an unrelenting international pressure to desist from its current genocidal activities. Pakistan has only to draw on the reports to secure enough incontrovertible material to convince various governments and people who never tire of claims for their championing the cause of human rights. Not enough has been done in this respect.

The question is: how long can or will the helpless Kashmiris continue to face torture and death of their youth, humiliation and sexual molestation of their

women and the destruction of their property in the face of hundreds of thousands of ruthless Indian security forces backed by draconian laws? The Kashmiris are doing their utmost and offering the supreme sacrifice of their lives. It is for Pakistan to raise the level of its involvement in this struggle by mobilising all internationally viable means with a view to compelling India to agree to (a) begin a discussion for the settlement of the matter without delay and (b) stop the state-terrorism against a people whose only crime is that they ask for their right of self-determination which has been duly conceded to them by the United Nations.

Whoever may have been guilty of putting the Kashmir issue on the back-burner, and it has to be conceded that this question remained neglected for years before 1989 when the Kashmiris rose in rebellion on their own steam, Pakistan can ill-afford losing any more time to pursue the case and cause of Kashmir with speed and vigour and in accordance with a well-designed and comprehensive strategy.

JI Vows Continued Assistance to Kashmiri Militants

93AS0677D Calcutta SUNDAY MAIL in English
28 Feb 93 p 10

[Article by Jamna Das Akhtar: "We Will Continue to Help Kashmiris"]

[Text] The cat is finally out of the bag. Pakistan's Jamaat Islami has refuted the claim of Nawaz Sharif government that Pakistan has not been supplying weapons to terrorists in the Kashmir Valley. According to a report in NAWA-E-WAQT of Lahore, the Jammam Amir, Qazi Hussain Ahmad, told a large gathering in Bhati Gate in Lahore on February 6: "The Pakistan government should stop its apologetic stance on Kashmir. The Jamaat has united the religious and political parties of Pakistan and warned them that the US may declare Pakistan a terrorist country and pressurise her. But we will continue the process of helping the Kashmiris. We are not afraid of any threat."

The speech of the Qazi was published on the front page of the newspaper in bold headlines, "Pakistan may be declared a terrorist country but the help to the Kashmiris will continue."

It is our duty to supply weapons to them, send Mujahideen and provide financial help to them," said the Qazi.

Qazi Hussain Ahmad, notorious for his outbursts, had sometime back exhorted his followers to launch Jihad against India to hoist the Pakistani flag on the Red Fort in Delhi. He criticised the American attitude and said: "Come what may. The threat to declare Pakistan a terrorist country cannot force us to change our stand. We will continue helping the Kashmiris because we consider our duty to provide weapons to them and send Mujahideen to help them."

The firebrand head of the Jamaat Islami declared that the UN had given permission to the Kashmiris to use weapons. According to him, while the US has threatened Pakistan to declare it a terrorist country, it should not ignore the fact that Pakistan was a party to the Kashmir dispute and it was its duty to help the Kashmiris to get back their rights.

Interestingly, he declared that Kashmir was a part of Pakistan and reminded his followers to that effect. Jinnah had called Kashmir the backbone of Pakistan because the country's prosperity depended on Kashmir. Kashmir provides water that helps Pakistan to grow fruits and other crops. Kashmir is the source of all rivers of Pakistan.

The implications of such claims are clear. Pakistan had always wanted to occupy the Valley for material interests. The claim to help Kashmiris in achieving independence has been a ploy to misguide the people. They are being exhorted to shed their blood, kill their own brethren and destroy bridges, schools, hospitals and other property to help Islamabad occupy the state and enslave the Kashmiris.

Qazi Hussain Ahmad elaborated his thesis when he said "Kashmir is the source of all rivers of Pakistan. India is constructing the Wooler barrage on Jhelum to withhold its water during winter and flood our country during the rainy season. As such, Kashmir must become a part of Pakistan. We need it for the preservation of our country."

The Qazi criticised what he called the apologetic attitude of the government and said that at the time of Partition, the Kashmiris had refused to become slaves of the Maharaja and declared themselves independent. The Qazi reminded that at that time Pakistani tribesmen went to help the Jihad.

It is well-known that the tribesmen were organised by Sardar Abdul Qayyum, the then Chief Minister of the Frontier Province. They were led by Major-General Akbar Khan of the Pakistan Army. Contrary to the Qazi's claim Kashmiris were fighting against the Pakistani aggressors.

Significantly, the Jammam organised a convention seeking cooperation from all political parties. While Wali Khan's Awami National Party and Pir Pagara's Functional Muslim League rejected its invitation, the Federal Minister for Kashmir affairs and the opposition People's Party leaders attended the convention.

Sardar Sikandar Hayat, President of the Occupied Kashmir, revealed that Pakistan government was trying to forge unity among the warring factions of Afghan Mujahideen. He hoped that their reconciliation would help the militants in Kashmir. This means that the so-called Afghan Mujahideen will be organised to conduct aggression against India in Kashmir.

Barrister Sultan Mahmud, the President of the so-called Liberation League, said recently in Lahore that the ministry of Kashmir affairs should be abolished and the constitutional position of 'Azad Kashmir' should be redefined to claim that it was an autonomous state. However, he said that it did not mean that he wanted independence for the state. He aimed at continuing the fight without creating any difficulty for Pakistan. He said that the people of Gilgit and Baltistan should be given representation (to create an impression that Pakistan has not occupied these territories and separated them from the state). He said that the ruling Muslim Conference was a "paid agent" of the Kashmir affairs ministry. Its office-bearers, including Sardar Abdul Qayyum, have been foisted on the people against their will as a result of which hatred towards Pakistan was growing.

A section of Pakistan's Press has referred to the so-called third option with regard to the Kashmir problem. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has hinted to this effect in his interview in Indonesia. A writer in THE JUNG was of the opinion that the prime minister was in favour of settlement of the dispute by agreeing to bifurcation of the state. According to this plan, India should retain the Jammu Province and Pakistan should be allowed to occupy the rest of the state. This means that although the prime minister continues harping on the demand for referendum, he is actually avoiding it because of the widespread resentment in Gilgit, Baltistan and the so-called Azad Kashmir. Successive Pakistani governments have rejected the demand for vacation of Gilgit and Baltistan.

Major Amanulla, President of the so-called Kashmir Liberation Organisation, recently said that the state should be handed over to the UN which should hold referendum after a few years. This seems to be another trick. Aman ulla, who is actually a resident of Gilgit, had been working as Pakistan's agent for a number of years. He was provided with an office at the Poonch House in Rawalpindi. Funds were sanctioned to help him to conduct foreign tours. Pakistani Embassy financed its weekly newspaper published from Birmingham, the U.K.

He has not explained his strategy in detail. For instance, will the Pakistan government agree to hand over the so-called Azad Kashmir to the UN? Will it vacate Gilgit and Baltistan and agree to hand over these areas to the UN? What will be the fate of the vast territory of the state which was donated to China or which was occupied by China as result of its aggression in 1962?

The Pakistan government is perturbed over the fact that terrorism organised by its agencies has failed to achieve its objective. While the people of the Valley are fed up and have seen the real face of Pakistan, the US, Britain and Russia have condemned terrorism. The US has even threatened to declare Pakistan a terrorist country. Jamaat Islami's declaration has exposed the aggressive and imperialist intentions of Pakistan.

There is no doubt that the rulers of Pakistan are facing trouble in their own country. They have failed to crush the Mohajirs and the Sindhis. The demand for the creation of Pakhtoonistan has been revived in the Frontier Province. Pakhtunkhah Milli leader Mahmood Achakzai has threatened to launch struggle for the creation of Pakhtoon Khah stretching from Swat to Bolan. Several Arab governments have started pushing out Pakistani smugglers from their countries. The infiltration of Pakistani smugglers and their widespread network has forced western powers to warn the Pakistan government. Organised crimes like kidnapping for ransom and gang rapes have become part of life.

However, senior Pakistani journalist Habibur Rahman, in his column in AKHBAR-E-JAHAN of Karachi, has advised the government to settle the Kashmir problem by peaceful negotiations and prove that it has stopped sending arms to the terrorists. He has also advised the government to enter into a defence pact with India and invite Indian industrialists to invest in Pakistan in joint ventures.

Internal Affairs

Northern Territories Declared Part of Kashmir

93AS0717D Karachi AMN in Urdu 9 Mar 93 p 1

[News Report: "Pakistan's Northern Territories Declared Part of Azad Kashmir"]

[Text] Muzaffarabad, 8 March (Radio Report)—The Azad Kashmir High Court has decided that Pakistan's northern territories are part of Kashmir. The Court has ordered the Azad Kashmir government to establish its authority over this region. According to the BBC, this decision was related to the northern territories which include the area between Gilgit, Baltistan, and Siachen. A bench composed of three judges declared this area a part of Azad Kashmir today and gave instructions that this decision be implemented immediately. Chief Justice Abdul Majid Malik asked the Government of Pakistan to help the Azad Kashmir government in establishing its control in northern territories. Two Gilgit residents had filed this case in the High Court. They wanted to include this region in Kashmir. The Government of Pakistan maintained that this region was not a part of either Pakistan or Azad Kashmir. The Court decided that historically and according to the people's demand, this region has been a part of Kashmir. Most of the political parties in Azad Kashmir have expressed pleasure at this decision and called it historic.

Dispute Over Northern Areas Seen Damaging to Nation

93AS0714E Lahore THE NATION in English
10 Mar 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Northern Areas' Status"]

[Text] In the wake of Azad Kashmir High Court's verdict that the Northern Areas are a part of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the long-time bone of contention between Muzaffarabad and Islamabad can no longer be allowed to endlessly linger on, and the issue will have to be resolved one way or the other. While the controversy regarding the legal status of the Northern Areas has been conveniently kept alive over the year with no serious attempt ever made to find a way out of the deadlock, the people of the area have been the worst sufferers in the process. Ironically enough, the people who have had the distinction of being the first to rebel against Dogra rule and proclaim their accession to Pakistan, have virtually been living under bureaucratic servitude. Notwithstanding, the divergence of perceptions between the Azad Kashmir government and the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs on how to administer the Northern Areas and whether to merge them with Azad Kashmir or treat them as a separate entity, the issue that in any case ought to have given top priority but has been overlooked is the question of democratic rights of the people of Northern Areas. It is indeed a matter of shame that there still exists in the country a 'black spot' which has not been deemed eligible for representation in the Parliament, nor it has been allowed to have a democratic set-up of its own. Whereas the mandarins at the Foreign Office have been arguing that if the Northern Areas were to be given representation in the Parliament, it would jeopardise Pakistan's stand on the Kashmir issue, it is hard to think of any conceivable reason why the people of the Northern Areas have been denied the right to elect an Assembly of their own, such as the one that exists in Azad Kashmir.

It may sound ridiculous to the champions of human rights in the country, but the fact of the matter is that the people of Northern Areas do not have access to a proper judicial system, since no High Court operating in any part of Pakistan has jurisdiction over the area. Needless to say, the Northern Areas have been over the years run by the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs which thus has a vested interest to resist any change in the status quo. Much water has flowed down the river Jhelum since the days of Dogra Maharajas' medieval rule in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, but time seems to have become stationary in the land which once was a province of the 'His Highness' government. And though the hereditary maharajas are no longer around, their place has been taken by bureaucratic overlords who have the licence to govern the area a la Residents of the British empire. No matter what follows the Azad Kashmir High Court's judgment and whether or not it is upheld by the Supreme court, it is high time for making a clear-cut decision regarding the status of the Northern Areas, and to initiate the long overdue structural changes that are called for to give the people of the areas a sense of belonging and participation in the system they live under.

Lack of Movement Toward Agreement on Kashmir Criticized

93AS0528A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 7 Jan 93 p 7

[Editorial: "The Kashmir Issue and the UN"]

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif addressed the second International Shah Hamdan conference being held in Bhorban and urged the international community to put pressure on India to solve the Kashmir issue by implementing the UN resolutions on Kashmir. Sharif warned the United Nations that if it does not take effective measures to implement the Kashmir resolutions as it did in regard to Kuwait, the U.N.'s existence could fall into jeopardy.

The lack of interest and feeling which the UN has demonstrated in regard to the Kashmir issue is both regrettable and reprehensible. The world organization has not been able to do anything, even after a long period of time. India has not only refused to carry out the UN resolutions on Kashmir but it also has resorted to oppression and aggression in order to continue its illegal hold on Kashmir. After seeing how the Security Council passed the resolution to use force against Iraq in the Kuwait issue and then immediately proceeded to carry out its resolution, certain circles in Pakistan thought that perhaps the UN had become active and was determined to see its resolutions implemented. But this proved to be a misunderstanding in regard to the Kashmir issue.

Not only the UN but the United States and its allies have felt no need to have the resolutions on Kashmir carried out; now they are even suggesting that the UN resolutions should be declared old and impracticable and the Kashmir issue settled under the Simla agreement. This attitude demonstrates the UN's double standard and the hypocrisy of the great powers. The UN plays an active role only in regard to those issues which touch the interests of the United States and its allies. The action against Iraq carried out through the UN was aimed not only at liberating Kuwait but preserving the interests and influence of the United States.

Since Kashmir does not involve U.S. interests, the UN has remained a silent spectator; it is not concerned with having its resolutions implemented, nor does it care about the oppression of the people of Kashmir.

Government Position on Kashmir Criticized

93AS0528C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 17 Jan 93 p 10

[Editorial: "An 'Independent State' of Kashmir: The Government Should Clarify"]

[Text] The four day Kashmir peace conference held in Washington with the financial help of the U.S. Congress has agreed that the most practicable and permanent solution to the Kashmir issue would be to establish a "free state" composed of Indian-occupied Kashmir and Free Kashmir. Participating in the conference were

journalists, intellectuals, former military and cultural officials from Pakistan, India, and Kashmir, as well as U.S. representatives. The participants held talks in India and Pakistan before the conference, and the U.S. Government television [C-SPAN] had also arranged discussions and meetings, urging both India and Pakistan to establish a friendly, firm, and lasting relationship free from tension.

The fact is that a solution to the Kashmir problem advocated by a handful of people cannot be thrust upon the people of Kashmir, Pakistan, and India; nor can the resolutions passed by the United Nations be ignored. According to the formula under which the subcontinent was liberated and India partitioned, Kashmir, which was a contiguous area and had a Muslim majority, should have become a part of Pakistan. But the state's Hindu Dogra ruler announced annexation of Kashmir to India and attacked Kashmir with Indian troops to carry out the his decision. The people of Kashmir and Pakistan were forced to take counteraction. At India's request, this limited war was ended through UN intervention, and it was decided that in a free and impartial referendum the people of Kashmir would decide whether they wish to join India or Pakistan. Under the formula for the partition of India, to which Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh leaders had agreed, this was the agreement reached between India and Pakistan. But as time passed, India started to refer to Kashmir as its inseparable part, and even today offers this as its sole option. (The participants in Washington's Kashmir peace conference should note that) India not only wants to include Kashmir within its boundaries but lays claim as well to Free Kashmir. During Zia's term of office, the Pakistani ambassador was asked in New Delhi when Pakistan intended to evacuate Free Kashmir. The Indian government has called Kashmiris living in their own land, separatists and terrorists, and the U.S. Government has echoed India's claim. It is indeed ironic that the participants in the Washington conference have asked "all sides to stop terrorist actions" in Kashmir. If the Kashmiris had not launched their struggle to free themselves from India's clutches, would the Washington conference have voted in favor of a "free state?" Now this struggle is called terrorism. As the saying goes, such wisdom makes one cry.

Under the slogan of "Free State," Amanullah Khan's All Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front has been trying over the past year to abolish the control line. None of the other organizations or political parties in occupied or Free Kashmir have raised such a slogan or supported it. However, Pakistan's prime minister, Nawaz Sharif, mentioned the "third option" on two occasions last year but later retracted his statement; however, he has not openly clarified his stand nor has he confronted the press with his suggestion where this question could be posed directly to him: After adopting the third option when Pakistan's borders would shrink from below Mangla Dam to G.T. Road, what arrangements would be made to protect and guarantee Pakistan's security and existence? The fact is that India is not ready to accept the

third option but wants to control all of Kashmir. If Pakistan should at any time relinquish its traditional stand, which has been accepted and agreed upon internationally, India, maintaining its obstinate demand, might swallow up Free Kashmir as well. If, for the sake of argument, one were to accept that the United States in its role as policeman of the new world order should prevail upon India to accept a "free state" of Kashmir, what would then be the ensuing consequences for Pakistan? Certain circles in Pakistan offer the argument, which they consider to be "realistic" and based on the exigencies of the time, that Pakistan cannot gain Kashmir through war; furthermore, because of Pakistan's interest in Kashmir, both India and the United States have made Pakistan the target of oppression. If, under these circumstances, Pakistan accepts the third option, then on the one hand, the massacre of Muslims in Kashmir would stop and on the other hand, the pressure on Pakistan from India and the United States would be ended. At the same time, the hope would still remain that one day the free state of Kashmir would join Pakistan. These "realistic circles" also say that a free state of Kashmir is better for Pakistan than an Indian occupied Kashmir, especially since all of Punjab's rivers originate in occupied Kashmir and India controls them. A free Kashmir would at least not act as India does. However, those who advocate the third option forget the hidden consequences, the most important of which is that in losing Free Kashmir Pakistan would be relinquishing the northern territories of Gilgit and Baltistan because all Kashmiris, including the leading mujahid Sardar Qayum, consider these territories part of Kashmir. In addition, within these territories there is a rising opposition to the policies of the Pakistan Government. Second, influenced by the United States and surrounded by such large countries as India and China, a weak Kashmir would become the locale of activities against China, and Pakistan would suffer in the fallout. Third, if it is possible to imagine a time in the future when a free state of Kashmir might want to join Pakistan, why is it not possible to envisage the danger of India swallowing up this weak state at any time it wishes to do so? This bargain promises to bring nothing but loss.

A further irony is that the talk of a third option and free state has started during the term of office of a government which is led by a man who calls himself a Kashmiri. The chief minister of Punjab, which is contiguous to Kashmir and has welcomed the largest number of refugees from Kashmir, also claims to be a Kashmiri. The IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] Party, which holds the reins of power in both Punjab and Pakistan, had severely condemned the Kashmir policy of the former People's Party government, accusing the People's Party chairperson of exchanging smiles with Rajiv Gandhi, of removing Kashmir house signs from Islamabad's streets when Rajiv Gandhi was visiting that city, and of blacking out radio and television news on Kashmir. It is the country's misfortune that the same political party that spoke in such terms, now that it has come into office, is showing weakness on the Kashmir issue,

encouraging talk of a third option, and through its intelligence, patronizing those newspapers and intellectuals who are paving the ground for the establishment of a free Kashmir state. If the prime minister and his government have changed their policy on Kashmir and are preparing to sacrifice the Kashmir issue on the altar of "realism," then they should inform the people of the circumstances and pressures which have brought about this change and take the people fully into their confidence. The people have the right to be informed of the secret factors that are responsible for decisions that concern the safety of the country and the nation.

Upcoming Presidential Elections Viewed

93AS0680A Lahore MUSAWAT in Urdu 21 Feb 93 p 4

[Editorial: "Presidential Elections"]

[Text] 1993 is the year of presidential elections, which will be held at the end of the year but, because of the importance of these elections and their possible effect on the country, campaigning has already started 11 months before the date. A month ago, Asghar Khan offered himself as the presidential candidate of Tahrir-i-Istiqal [Democracy Movement] and Shaukat Mahmud, the leader of the People's Party, announced his intention to run as a candidate. Several other individuals as well have hinted at their intentions of running as candidates for the presidency.

Nowadays, the presidential elections and the Eighth Amendment are the topics of discussion in the press. IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] and other parties have not made any formal announcements except for the Fazhur Rahman group which has announced its conditional support for the present president. The IJI is sitting on the fence waiting to see what direction events take before making any announcements. In his statement last month regarding the Eighth Amendment, President Ishaq said that his constitutional oath of office included the defense of the Eighth Amendment. He did not make any formal announcement regarding his wish to stay in office, but it does appear that he would like to be president for another term and considers it more advantageous to himself to keep the Eighth Amendment in effect. After the hint by the president, members of the National Assembly, the Senate, and other individuals as well have started to campaign in support of the president, and a group from IJI has joined them. A group belonging to the NDA [National Democratic Alliance] parties, which follows Jatoi, has openly announced its support for president Ishaq.

In view of these developments, Nawaz Sharif, who was trying to avoid any outright statement, may be unable to resist the pressure. An election cell has been established in the presidential office, which will survey various expressions of public opinion; it will also study the activities of presidential candidates, their support and opposition; the facilities needed by assembly circles and

the demands of assembly members. The report states that President Ishaq Khan will run his presidential election on his own terms.

During the 1990 elections when the People's Party government was ousted and new elections were held, President Ishaq played a totally biased and important role in influencing the elections and changing the election results. A similar cell was established at that time under the leadership of Brigadier Imtiaz. The drama that was then staged to turn the elections in their own favor is an old story. The system of government at this time is neither parliamentary nor presidential, but a kind of authoritarian rule under which a single individual can use the Eighth Amendment to frighten the members of the assembly and the government and is now once more working toward turning the presidential elections in his own favor. The establishment of the presidential election cell promises to create the worst kind of wheeling and dealing.

Sharif, Bhutto Alliance Seen Unlikely

93AS0714I Karachi HERALD in English 15 Feb 93
pp 60-61

[Article by Ayaz Amir: "The Best of Enemies"]

[Text] *Can the Sharifs and the Bhuttos summon up the wisdom to agree not so much upon the necessity of doing away with the eighth amendment as upon a joint presidential candidate? It is here that their prejudices are likely to stand in their way.*

There is no end to political excitement in this country. One false crisis hardly ends before there is another to engage the attention of the nation's political cognoscenti.

The chapter which opened with Benazir Bhutto's long march on Islamabad has ended with her having another baby in London. Before that she had accepted the chairmanship of the National Assembly's foreign affairs committee, a body most people had never heard of. Jialas, some of them still smarting from the treatment meted out to them by the police during and after the long march, were understandably nonplused (to put it no stronger than that). If this is what their leader was prepared to settle for, what was the need to expose them to so much needless suffering? This was the question many of them were asking.

But this was not the first time Benazir Bhutto was making a blunder. Nor, given her acute sense of judgment, will this be her last? Yet it is her good fortune that she can get away with anything. Whatever she does, there will be people in her party putting the best face on it. The PPP [Pakistan People's Party] enjoys mass support, but at the top, it is still a family enterprise. Remove the family and the party loses its *raison d'être*. This is what enables Benazir to get away with repeated blunders. But that in the process she may have lost the Punjab, perhaps irretrievably, is a point lost both on her and her jialas.

The PPP's travails, however, are becoming more and more of a side issue with each passing day. The issue set to dominate the national agenda this year is the presidential election, regarding which various moves are already being made. The front-runner is of course the evergreen incumbent, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, who has yet to declare his candidacy in so many words, but whose partisans have begun saying that it is in the highest national interest that he be re-elected for another term.

The Frontier Chief Minister, Mir Afzal Khan, has expressed himself on these lines. Illahi Bux Soomro has done the same. The Sindh chief minister, Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah, who has a keen eye for the wind, has described the president as a pillar of democracy. From the prime minister's camp, however, there is embarrassed silence. For understandable reasons, the prime minister does not want to be rushed into any decisions. If he could have his way he would surely like a man of his choice to sit in the presidency rather than someone like Ishaq Khan who knows more about the business of state than the Sharifs and their advisers. But much as the Sharifs would like to see the last of Ishaq Khan, they are not in a position, at least not yet, to make any open move against him. He is much too strong for them to do that. So they are sulking in silence or trying to give the impression that they are mending fences with the PPP and that this could lead to the fielding of a joint presidential candidate when the time is ripe. No one is saying this in so many words, but this is what is implied by Benazir Bhutto's selection as head of the National Assembly's foreign affairs committees and Asif Zardari's release on bail.

At the moment, however, a joint Muslim League-PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] presidential candidate is about as realistic a prospect as Ms Bhutto's intention of marching on Islamabad and ousting the Sharifs from power. It is only people like Iftikhar Gillani who are putting any faith in such a prospect.

What (given the compulsions of human nature) must be particularly galling to the Sharifs is the way Ishaq Khan's candidacy is acquiring a momentum of its own, without the least reference to the Muslim League or to the house of Sharif. It would be another thing if Ishaq Khan were to come begging for their support. But he has done nothing of the sort. His supporters have begun issuing statements of such sweep and compass that they practically imply that questioning Ishaq Khan's right to seek and win a second term is akin to high treason.

It would, however, be arrogance of the highest order on the part of the bureaucrats who are the president's advisers to think that they have their election victory all wrapped up. The Frontier and Sindh chief ministers may have announced their support for the president, and the Junejo faction in the Muslim League may also be willing to back him, but it is the Punjab assembly and the Punjab seats in the National Assembly that will decisively affect the outcome of a presidential race, two areas where the Sharifs enjoy a solid body of support. If to this

Sharif constituency is added the PPP's strength, then an Ishaq candidacy begins to look doubtful. But for the two sides to come together and agree on a joint presidential candidate requires the kind of wisdom and clearheadedness that is in short supply in both their camps.

With his knowledge and experience of statecraft, Ishaq may be the mainstay of the present system, but his continuation at the helm suits neither the Sharifs nor the Bhuttos. He is too knowing and too interfering for the Sharifs' liking. Wouldn't they give anything to have a Mian Azhar or a Ghous Ali Shah in the presidency, someone who would pander to their instincts and confirm them in their follies? As for the Bhuttos, it does not require much to figure out why they should want to see the last of Ishaq. After Zia, he has been their greatest tormentor—treating them with contempt, dismissing their government, framing references against Benazir, and playing godfather to Jam Sadiq Ali in his endeavours to break the PPP's clouded prospects. It would also free the Sharifs from the fear of being overshadowed if Ishaq is around for another five years.

But can the Sharifs and the Bhuttos summon up the wisdom to agree not so much upon the necessity of doing away with the eighth amendment (which bloats the President's powers in the present constitutional arrangement) as upon a joint presidential candidate? It is here that their prejudices are likely to stand in their way. A figure that might suit the Bhuttos might not suit the Sharifs, and vice versa. And it is in this potential conflict that lies Ishaq Khan's greatest chance. He and his surrogates know what they want. They also have a pretty clear idea of how to get it. The Sharifs and the Bhuttos, in their different ways, also know what they want: Ishaq Khan's political corpse. But do they know how to get it? On this vital point serious doubts persist.

Sharif, Bhutto Alliance Said Possible

93AS0719B Karachi JANG in Urdu 14 Mar 93 p 3

[Article by Salim Zahid Siddiqui: "Will Prime Minister Give Preference to Madame Over The President"]

[Text] Tempests in a tea cup are raging over the postulates, assumptions, and desires stemming from the discussions related to the Eighth Amendment and presidential election. Popular opinions are being confused and misled. Unsuccessful efforts are being made to understand the points and games of political leaders and their critics. Efforts to prove that the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] holds the trump cards are also being made. On the basis of various assumptions and suppositions, writers have already shown the president the way out of the presidential residence.

I had explicitly written in my earlier columns that President Ghulam Ishaq Khan will not declare his plans to be a presidential candidate until the time is right. This is not a demonstration of conventional caution, it just shows thoughtfulness and forbearance. He is aware that an announcement that he is not running will weaken his

hold on the government just like Ayub Khan's 1968 announcement to relinquish his position weakened him. His announcement to run for the post will be called premature, and all parties will get into the game of "election fever" and "let us wait." All this will make the work of the Government difficult. He will not make a decision until just before the elections. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif will not say anything decisive until the president makes a decision. If he makes an announcement hastily, his presidential candidate will be Ghulam Ishaq Khan, and if Ghulam Ishaq Khan withdraws his candidacy later, Nawaz Sharif will have a difficult time passing the remaining period of his government with a new president. On the other hand, if he declares that he will not support Ghulam Ishaq Khan, and wants to help elect another person as president, and Ghulam Ishaq Khan declares his candidacy, Mian Sharif will have problems even during the elections. Now, if Ghulam Ishaq Khan is elected president again, their relations will be ruined even when they do not make any problems for each other. Therefore, Nawaz Sharif will avoid making any decision. The question of the prime minister's position will come up later. Even Benazir Bhutto is not in any position to make a decision at this time. That is why she did not approve her associate Asghar Khan's declaring his candidacy. She even expressed her displeasure. While our president, prime minister, and the opposition leader are so careful, serious, and cautious, our revered journalists are spreading new assumptions on a daily basis. They are trying to prove that Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto are fully cooperating against President Ghulam Ishaq Khan over the election issue. However, they have no solid argument to support their conclusion. When even the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] demands that Mian Nawaz Sharif start a campaign against the president as the price for its collaboration, how could Nawaz Sharif campaign against Ghulam Ishaq Khan just because Benazir wishes it? Before he trusts Madam Bhutto, will he not think about his opposition to her for many years and that she has organized the Long March to end his government? She calls his government's legislative assemblies bogus and does not accept the credibility of the elections that appointed Mian Sharif to this position. Will he not lean toward President Ishaq Khan who gave him the power? He did not use Madam Bhutto's Long March as an excuse to dismiss his government. He did not criticize him personally or his government even in his third address to the Parliament. Their relations were never strained during the 28 months of their government. What makes them think that Nawaz Sharif will oppose Ghulam Ishaq Khan just to please his constant rival? There is another threat from his rival. The PDA could favor collaborating with the president instead of with Nawaz Sharif anytime, and declare it an amazing success of their strategy. There is no indication that Mian Nawaz Sharif would prefer cooperating with Madam Bhutto instead of with the president.

As for the Eighth Amendment, the PDA and the Government clearly disagree over it also. Madam Bhutto

wants to repeal the Eighth Amendment totally (however, I am not sure if she would be willing to end this amendment while Nawaz Sharif is still the prime minister and make Nawaz Sharif a dictator just like her father. She does talk about totally abolishing it). Nawaz Sharif wants to make changes in some of the Eighth Amendment articles, but does not want to make any major changes. Anyhow, they both clearly disagree over keeping or removing Islamic laws. As for the wishes of the president, he has already expressed his opinion. "I am not the creator of the Eighth Amendment and have inherited it. I have taken the oath to uphold the Constitution, and it is my duty to protect the Eighth Amendment along with the other constitutional amendments. I will accept without any objection additional amendments to or repeal of the Eighth Amendment if the Parliament passes those."

The above statement would force the candidates who claim they would dismiss the Eighth Amendment by an ordinance if they are elected president some food for thought. They cannot do that according to our Constitution, and it would be an unconstitutional and illegal action. The Constitution does not give the president the power to dismiss a constitutional amendment through an ordinance. In addition, the president and the prime minister do not disagree as much over the Eighth Amendment as do the prime minister and Madam Bhutto. As for the "trump card in her hand," the card players know that in a card game, a trump card can be useless if one makes even one mistake. The card players should not be happy just because they have the trump card. They should play the game according to a strategy. I am not afraid to say with apologies that the PPP and Madam Bhutto have not organized their strategy fully. What our venerable writers are calling "keeping the options open" actually points to the Benazir camp's disorientation and mental trepidations.

Government Seen Sustained by Narcotics Trade

93AS0677E Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
16 Mar 93 p 8

[Article by Aabha Dixit: "A Pak of Dirty Money"]

[Text] As is customary, a new administration in Washington has produced a spate of reports by official and semi-official organisations. Each organisation has an idea, interest or strategy to promote. Therefore, it is not surprising to find influential think tanks, former officials and government bodies seeking an increase in their budget outlays, presenting a grim picture of the nature of the threat they argue the United States faces from the rest of the world.

In most scenarios, the threat has been deliberately exaggerated. But in one area, the Cassandras have managed to get it right. A Central Intelligence Agency report "Heroin in Pakistan: Sowing the Wind" accurately reveal the extent of Pakistan's involvement in the drugs trade.

The CIA report, "leaked" to the New York daily NEWS-DAY, has stated the infamous Inter Services Intelligence which ran the Afghan war was deeply involved in the export of narcotics. Immense profits from this trade were used to fund separatist movements in India. The report also highlighted how heroin trade has become big business for every political leader from President Ghulam Ishaq Khan to Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.

Drug traffickers enjoy immunity and privileges denied to even diplomats—certainly those from India. They are members of the national and provincial assemblies. Some have even become ministers and governors and others act as the real powers behind the throne. According to Ms Benazir Bhutto, over 65 per cent of sitting legislators have proven drug connections. They have the wherewithal, including unlimited resources, to buy seats.

The report has named Chaudhary Shaukat Ali Bhatti, a member of the Punjab assembly, as the kingpin of the nexus that has developed between the drug smugglers and Khalistani terrorists. But curiously, the CIA report absolves the former president, General Zia ul Haq, from being part of the drug cartel. There has, however, been overwhelming evidence that General Zia was aware super profits from the drug trade were laundered to line the pockets of his cronies and fund the jihad across both borders of the country.

George Trober, a Norwegian drug trafficker and Hisayoshi Maruyama, a Japanese drug scout, who were caught in the West, were reported to have confessed that drug dealers had connections right up to people close to General Zia. The Norwegian drug bust led to the imprisonment of Zia's personal banker, Hamid Hasnain.

The US government has acknowledged the authenticity of the report but issued a guarded statement saying "we do not necessarily agree with any of the information and judgments contained in it." It is not too difficult to understand why the Clinton administration has chosen to softpedal the issue.

Only a few months back, the outgoing Bush administration had praised the Pakistan government for its anti-narcotics activity and released aid for the coming year. This was despite the US Congress's opposition, in light of the Pressler Amendment, to financial grants for Pakistan. But the Clinton administration has not accepted its predecessor's analysis and according to the FRONTIER POST, Washington has informally asked Pakistan to hand over 20 notable figures who are involved in drug smuggling. While Islamabad has sought to provide an upbeat picture of Washington's stand, the moot point is that the Clinton administration has not rejected the facts provided in the CIA report.

The significance of the report lies in the fact it brings together, probably for the first time, the range of charges that have appeared in the international press on Pakistan's clandestine activities. The BCCI scandal and the irrefutable links between the Pakistani operators of the

bank and the drug cartel have been the subject of scrutiny by the US Congress. Similarly, the US had unsuccessfully asked for the extradition of several Pakistani nationals including members of the national assembly to face trial in the US for exporting drugs. Under pressure as a result of the CIA disclosures, Islamabad has recently agreed to extradite Mian Mohammad Azam to face drug charges. The Pakistan International Airlines has been fined \$15 million with condition of forfeiture of its aircraft after the recovery of 50 kilograms of heroin from the residence of its New York manager. As the complete report is still a closely guarded secret, it is not known whether it describes official attempts by other countries to crack down on the drug menace unleashed by the Pakistan based cartel.

In the past few weeks, traditional friends of Islamabad have begun taking tougher postures on Pakistan's involvement in the trade. The Saudis have publicly warned Islamabad that if "smuggling of illicit drugs continued unabated it would stop import of manpower from (Pakistan)." It has also been reported over 250 Pakistani nationals have been arrested on drug related charges in the past six months and 106 of them are to be executed for pushing drugs in the desert kingdom.

The FRONTIER POST wrote Pakistani embassy personnel too have been found guilty and lamented "Pakistan's image is being sullied as more and more of its nationals get apprehended for narcotics smuggling in foreign lands... The Middle East, Europe and America will soon be virtually closed to those holding Pakistani passports." All this has finally forced the Pakistani immigration and customs authorities to "become strict" with outbound Pakistanis, specially those leaving for Riyadh. If Islamabad has shown spineless behaviour in bringing the drug barons to book, the Saudi government has shown how the "big fish" from Pakistan can be caught and sentenced.

In a subsequent development, Riyadh has named 150 heroin smugglers it wants extradited to Saudi Arabia to face trial. The only case that the Pakistan Narcotics Control Board repeatedly highlights pertains to one Bakht Nabir, the son of a member of the national assembly, Qadar Gul Mohammed. He continues to be imprisoned despite pressure from tribal politicians of the federally administered areas.

It is not only the Saudis who have publicly expressed the sense of frustration and anger at Islamabad's inaction in preventing drug exports. The United Arab Emirates government, using the disturbances that overseas Pakistanis created after the Babri Masjid demolition, has refused to allow the return of the drug lords who were expelled from the sheikhdom.

The Turks are not far behind with Ankara, working closely with international agencies, successfully indicting 12 Pakistani drug smugglers intending to carry 20 tonnes of heroin into the country. The Iranians too have issued

a stern warning and complained about Pakistan's failure to check drug smugglers operating in areas bordering Iran.

The West has found Islamabad's defence unconvincing. According to Pakistan's minister for narcotics control, Rana Chander Singh, over 190 tonnes of drugs valued at Rs 409 million were confiscated in 1992. They included 188 tonnes of hashish, 2.9 tonnes of heroin and 3.4 tonnes of opium. The minister also stated 80 tonnes of hashish were burnt to mark the Year Against Drugs Campaign.

For a country that had produced, by conservative estimates, 2500 metric tonnes of heroin in 1992 alone, the seizures symbolise the entirely inadequate attempts, perhaps deliberately so, to control narcotics production. While the government in Islamabad possibly spends more in advertising its anti-narcotics "achievements," its attempts to build an infrastructure are abysmally poor. According to the fourth National Survey on Drug Abuse conducted by the government, there were 1.7 million drug addicts. But unofficial figures put the figure in the 3-5 million range.

The drug trade in recent years has seen the entry of pharmaceutical companies. There have been reports these companies are providing phenobarbitone that raises the addiction inducing factor of heroin. By 1990, methylfantanyl, a chemical that makes heroin 25 times more potent, was indigenously developed giving the drug pushers manifold profits and allowed the "illicit trade (to be) carried out without any let or hindrance."

The CIA report has provided an insight into how the US has been collecting information on Islamabad's infamous drug deals. The report also betrays another uncomfortable fact—the US's adherence to drug nonproliferation was always sacrificed at the altar of political expediency. To secure unhindered supply routes to the Afghan mujahideen, Washington was prepared to ruin the Pakistani society and destabilise the border provinces in India.

The CIA report may have been "leaked" at an appropriate time, to gain additional funding for its narcotics control programme, but its revelations should spur US Congress and the Clinton administration to work closely and vigorously to make Pakistan turn the heroin production taps off.

For long Islamabad has viewed narco-power as legitimate business. But as neighbouring countries get increasingly unsettled by drug proliferation, the time has come for Washington to work in close tandem with other states in the region to force Pakistan take stern action against the drug lords. Former US ambassador, Mr Robert Oakley's prophetic fears of a Colombia type situation emerging have become a reality. Pakistani field officials go much further and contend, "We are facing the biggest drug problem in the world. It could make Colombia's and Southeast Asia's drug production look like peanuts."

But having allowed Islamabad to pursue the drug option for so long, heroin trade has become, as the report admits, the "lifeblood of the Pakistani economy and government. The key question is whether the establishment in Islamabad will allow its own ruination to save other societies?"

NWFP Coalition Government Performance Viewed

93AS0714C Lahore *THE NATION* in English
18 Mar 93 p 7

[Article by Mansoor Akbar Kundi, assistant professor, Political Science Department, University of Balochistan, Quetta : "Political Analysis of NWFP Coalition Government"; italicized words as published]

[Text] The NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] coalition government partners under Mir Afzal Khan have shown growing differences among themselves. During the last one year, over many issues where political parties stood divided outside but together inside the Assembly, the situation might have resulted in many consequences in their political mobilisation amongst the masses; still it seems that those in government seem to have supported the coalition as it serves the interests of all joining it. The present coalition alliance was the ultimate result of the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) and Awami National Party (ANP), two major political groups on the political scene, no matter the differences they had shown to each other in the past, believing in burying the hatchet for a common cause to keep away any possibility of the Pakistan People Party (PPP), now Peoples Democratic Alliance (PDA), coming into power. The PDA stood a chance of sweeping a majority of seats, if the two had not entered a common election alliance.

The ANP-IJI mobilised collective strength in many constituencies, particularly in Peshawar and Mardan divisions, where the PDA held stronger bases of support, and could defeat any opposing party's candidates without the election alliance. The Peshawar division which after bifurcation includes another division of Mardan, plays an important role in NWFP politics. It not only contains the majority of seats in the NWFP legislature, but an influential financial and administrative base of support to enable any political party to further their political interests. Unlike other areas, independents are least likely to succeed from these divisions' constituencies. The caretaker government of Mir Afzal Khan facilitated matters essential to alliance successes in many constituencies. Mir Afzal Khan, a seasoned industrialist politician having shared his loyalties with different political groups in his political career, had personal links with ANP echelons to overcome differences with them. He also had established closer ties with the PPP during the Sherpao ministry and knew many loopholes of the party to be manoeuvred. His caretaker chief ministership favoured some of the IJI-ANP candidates against strong PDA and independents in the southern and northern districts. The election results, to the dismay of the PDA

and Jamiat Ulema Islam, heralded success for ANP-IJI and independents. The ANP could not have secured so many seats otherwise.

The IJI coalition government's immediate support came from the ANP, which won 23 seats in the 83-member NWFP Assembly, including three minority members who support the government. The ANP, the ultimate command of which lies with Begum Nasim Wali, seemed all supportive of a coalition under Mir Afzal Khan. This happened particularly in a situation where the party had radically changed its policies over core issues it had differentiated in the past. The party has undergone a drift in its policies from rigidity to conciliation in opposing the Centre.

The IJI emerged as the largest party in the legislature. It won 33 seats but its number was trimmed to 23 after eight members of the Jama'at-i-Islami in the Assembly withdrew their support from the government, and two of its vacated seats were won by the PDA in by-elections. The resulting JI differences with the IJI were mainly due to changes in Afghanistan where the Nawaz Sharif government was less supportive of Gulbadin Hikmatyar's Hizbe Islami than moderates, and the growing influence of the ANP in the new coalition over important matters. The JI's triumph in elections, nonetheless, owed all to the IJI, otherwise, it might not have carried more than one or two seats independently.

The PDA has fewer seats in the Assembly (which counts nine after by-elections where it won a majority by a big margin), yet the party commands mass popularity all over the province, and in any future election, as many analysts agree, can win an open majority. The party seems to have raised its political profile by giving voice to important issues where the NWFP interests were at stake such as the Gadoon industrial estate, Kalabagh Dam and privatisation of WAPDA. The party won all the three seats of by-elections where the ANP-IJI did not have an election alliance. They included two important seats vacated by the death of Fazle Haq and Mir Afzal Khan's surrender of an extra seat.

The JUI overall performance in the election was poor, and to the dismay of the majority of its supporters it lost many constituencies it had enjoyed support in, such as PF-54. Many factors may account for JUI failures, however, the volatile performance of the party leader, Fazlur Rehman, injured the party's election prospects. Fazlur Rehman lost his own pet seat of NA-18, Fazlur his father had carried since the one-unit period.

Independent MPAs [Member of Provincial Assembly] constitute an important position in the Assembly. The independent MPAs in the beginning flexed their muscles to show their strength by forming a separate group when two MPAs, Sana Ullah Miankhel and Qasim Shah, both ex-ministers, claimed a group of 17 to be a force. Many of them, nonetheless, later on fell victim to their constituencies' interests, particularly having been left with no choice of horse-trading. The independents, nonetheless,

have enjoyed far more privileges/concessions that can serve their interest at large from the IJI, even at the cost of ANP differences with the IJI. This was particularly after the JI disalignment with the IJI, and growing ANP differences with the centre. This led the IJI leadership in the province and centre to give their backing to the independent candidates, the majority of whom are very influential in their areas. They did this for two reasons. In case of the ANP withdrawing its support the IJI had to be assured of the support from the independent quarters. The inculcation of the independents into the IJI coalition ensured that they did not come out in support of the ANP. This was considered at the time a very real possibility, no matter that it appears dim now. Many of the independents, as ANP accuses its IJI partners, are allotted huge funds for development and privileges, including appointments and transfer matters in lower grades, which they recommend to the competent authorities. Many of them enjoy *ex officio* headships of development authorities. According to an independent MPA from D. I. Khan, "The independents' bargains would have been higher in case the ANP-IJI differences had widened to disalignment." "It could be more benefiting in case the PDA had won more seats against the IJI and ANP/IJI candidates."

The present coalition government partners, despite whatever differences they show to each other, still are supportive of the alliance as it serves the interests of all joining it. The ANP members are more supportive of Mir Afzal Khan than any other as the chief minister. Mir Afzal Khan, having close terms with Ghulam Ishaq Khan, is active in lobbying for his coming election to back his candidacy. He seems to have strained relations with many IJI and independent members though. The NWFP legislators including FATA [Federally Administered Tribal Areas] Senators and MNAs [Member of National Assembly], can play an important role in the presidential election.

The government may not have the support of the majority over issues such as Gadoon industrial estate, construction of civil channels (to feed the demands of southern districts for irrigation) and NFC [expansion not given] award, etc. nonetheless, it had unanimous support of the House over privatisation of WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority], where no group in government could afford to face the music outside the Assembly.

Power Struggle Within IJI

93AS0680B Lahore MUSAWAT in Urdu 23 Feb 93 p 4

[Editorial: "Struggle Within the Ruling Groups"]

[Text] After the postponement of the long march, the issues which have surfaced in national politics and have created heat in the political arena pertain to the Eighth Amendment and presidential elections. The assembly members of the Nawaz government are divided into two groups on these issues and continue to deliver statements

of one kind or the other. Recently, the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] parliamentary group held a meeting in which it gave Nawaz Sharif full powers to make decisions concerning the presidential elections and the abrogation of the Eighth Amendment. Nawaz Sharif has said in this connection that before making any decision, he would try to consult with other political parties. Following the decision of the IJI parliamentary group, its assembly members have been voicing their views in favor of or against presidential powers, and this issue has become important in the press as well.

Aftab Ahmad Sherpao, head of the Frontier People's Party, has said in regard to the matter that ever since Nawaz Sharif found out that the president was going to break up his government, the Muslim League's parliamentary group was demanding the abrogation of the Eighth Amendment. The fact of the matter is that President Ishaq has written more than 100 letters attempting to draw the Government's attention to various problems. The president's letters include complaints about the implementation of agreements on water and water distribution, privatization of WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority], Pakistan telecommunications and privatization. It is necessary to point out in regard to these letters that in his recent address to the Parliament, the president ignored the Nawaz government's mistakes, shortcomings, and wrongdoings and played the part of the government's guardian.

While all this heat is being generated in regard to the Eighth Amendment and presidential elections, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, the leader of the NDA has been holding frequent meetings with the president and talking loudly about his support for the president. Certain Assembly members of the People's Party also had met privately with the president, but later, the parliamentary group of the People's Party decided that no party leader could meet privately with the president without the party's permission because such meetings conveyed the impression that People's Party leaders were taking sides in the present struggle between the president and the prime minister.

The position of the People's Party regarding the Eighth Amendment has been clear from the very beginning. The president used the Eighth Amendment as a weapon to destroy Benazir Bhutto's elected government; because of this amendment, the spirit of democracy has been purged from Pakistan's Constitution. The dictator Zia's actions were aimed at seizing in his own hands the total power of the state and extending his rule. Such amendments are to be expected under military rule but such one-sided privileges have no place under civilian rule. That such biases still exist shows that civil dictatorship exists in the country and democracy cannot be restored. That is why the People's Party on principle wants a balance in the powers of the president and the prime minister so that the system of checks and balances may exist in military policy [as published].

The People's Party's stand notwithstanding, the party policy has no connection with the present struggle between the president and the prime minister over the Eighth Amendment. The first priority of the PPP's present democratic war is to oust the present government and bring into office an impartial caretaker government which would be responsible for holding new general elections in the country. The PPP should try to take political advantage of the present struggle between the president and the prime minister but it should maintain its basic stand and take no part in the struggle.

The present struggle is a war within the ruling groups and the protagonists are trying to seize as much power as possible. The struggle is not aimed at restoring true democracy nor does it have anything to do with the wishes and deprivations of the people. The two ruling groups can make peace at any time and further strengthen their stranglehold on the country. According to certain reports, certain elements are trying to bring about a reconciliation between the Nawaz government and the president, and that is the reason why the resolutions in support of the president, which were to have been passed in the assemblies of two provinces, have been postponed and Nawaz Sharif, who had sent two letters to Benazir Bhutto suggesting that they hold discussions, now says that he will not meet with Benazir at this time. This may mean that if a reconciliation comes about between Nawaz Sharif and the president, Sharif will permanently close the door to any negotiations with the People's Party. At any rate, whatever the situation, PPP has no political or policy connection with the struggle between the president and the premier. It is the duty of the PPP leaders not to waste time looking around, but instead, to continue their internal efforts and prepare to push ahead the democratic struggle of the people.

Benazir Bhutto has said that, after she returns from London to her country, she would accelerate the people's movement against the Government. It is necessary that the PPP look at domestic politics from the point of view of Benazir's new social agreement. The country's electoral system is not working, and votes have lost their sanctity. Because of the Government's wrongdoing, the country's wealth is being gathered up by a few individuals. The rich are withdrawing themselves [as published], and class differences have increased to a dangerous level, destroying the internal peace of the country. The people are being crushed under the weight of high prices and taxes; those engaged in agriculture and poor peasants are living in an atmosphere of terror, and privatization has spread unrest among workers. The People's Party is basically a party of the people, and it has fought for the liberation of the people from the very beginning; it considers the people the source of political strength, and it is because of this revolutionary role that the people have made sacrifices for the survival of the party. The aim of the PPP is to change the present outworn system in the country and make it into a democratic welfare state; it wants to construct a society

based on equality in which labor would have precedence over capital. The long march movement of the PPP or PDA has not ended; it has merely been postponed. As Benazir Bhutto and Asif Ali Zardari have said, after the month of Ramadan, the movement would be started with renewed vigor; outworn politics would be ousted from the country, and new political aims established. Compared to this major objective of the PPP, the struggle between the president and the prime minister becomes a minor issue. After the new system is established, such problems will solve themselves, and the dream of the hegemony of the people will be realized. Today, the revolutionary and people-oriented stand of the PPP alone can ensure the creation of a progressive Pakistan. That is the reason why not only the PPP but the all democratic and people-oriented forces in the country favor this stand which aims at bringing progress and prosperity to the country and making it indestructible.

JUI Accuses Government of Placating U.S.

93AS0678C Karachi AMN in Urdu 13 Feb 93 p 8

[News Report: "Maulana Ajmal: "The Government Has Bowled to U.S. Pressure"]

[Text] Lahore, 12 February (PPI): Maulana Ajmal Khan, central acting president of Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam, said that the Government had bowed to American pressure, and the proof of this was that, on the one hand, the United States had ended aid to Pakistan and, on the other hand, it was bent on designating Pakistan a terrorist country. In a statement from Lahore, he said that the nation should be told which of the American conditions had been accepted by the Government. He asked the Government whether it had accepted U.S. conditions demanding a reduction in the number of armed forces, the closure of the Khoti plant, and a freeze on nuclear energy. He also wanted to know under what secret agreement U.S. commandos had come to Pakistan, and whether these commandos intended to create bloodshed and destruction in Afghanistan. Ajmal Khan demanded that the issue be discussed in Parliament. Commenting on presidential elections, he said that, if Punjab does not support President Ishaq, change should be expected, and that change in the center could come about only through presidential elections.

Dissension Within Muslim League Viewed

93AS0678A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 25 Feb 93 p 6

[Editorial: ""Discord in Muslim League"]

[Text] The expression of views within the Muslim League ruling party in regard to the presidential elections is not a new phenomena at least as far as the Muslim League is concerned, because League members have always tended to voice their own opinions. But this time, the Muslim League is again in office; hence, these verbal baton charges and fisticuffs within the ruling party create

dissension and distress in the country and are not to be commended. In those important issues in particular which concern the entire nation, these rumor mongerings and attacks on each other by the League members in fact destroy their dignity, and when ruling authorities lose dignity, dissension spreads everywhere.

The issue of the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution does not involve merely one party but touches the interests of the entire nation; thus, the matter cannot be decided by the parliamentary group of any one party. However, recently, the parliamentary group of the ruling Muslim League party held a meeting and gave the prime minister the power to abrogate the Eighth Amendment. Apart from the fact that such a decision should have been made by the entire Muslim League party, the meeting of the parliamentary group is controversial as well. Arbab Ghulam Rahim has complained that he was ousted from the meeting; on the other hand, Brigadier Asghar, who participated in the meeting, maintains that it was not a meeting of the Muslim League parliamentary group but that of the Government's assembly members and that the decision of the national assembly members could not be imposed on the four provincial assemblies and senate. Abdul Ghafur Hoti, who claims to be the acting president of the Muslim League, says that the decision taken with the prime minister's participation had no connection with the Muslim League. Iqbal Ahmad Khan, secretary general of the Muslim League, maintains that the decision had no constitutional standing because the Muslim League party was not present in the assembly. The IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad], whose leader is the prime minister, was present, and the latter could summon a meeting of the IJI parliamentary group.

The fact is that IJI ended a long age. In regard to the differences within the Muslim League, which are again becoming public, the prime minister claimed on the same day that there were no differences within the party over the issue of the Eighth Amendment; that the party was united in its view on the matter; and that the expression of any particular views by any member of the assembly did not affect the opinion of the majority. However, as the situation now stands, the Muslim League's secretary general himself has openly expressed his support for the Eighth Amendment and acting president Abdul Ghufur says that, without the amendment, there would have been martial law in the country. Other members of the assembly and Muslim League officials have been expressing their support for the Eighth Amendment in large numbers. Even though Muslim League president Junejo was adversely affected by the Eighth Amendment, he is not in a position now to oppose the amendment. In fact, his own lobby is lining up support for the amendment. In view of these facts, the prime minister's claim that there is no difference of opinion in the Muslim League over this issue has no merit. At any rate, if the ruling party had wished to make any decision, it should have waited for the return of its president and decided on a party wide basis; it would

have thus avoided this storm of controversy. It seems, however, that a certain group of rulers have not abandoned their habit of making unilateral decisions on every issue; IJI fell apart because all decisions were made in a certain circle on the highest level without consultations with all the parties included in the alliance. The prime minister has fallen quite low from the high point of esteem and support which he enjoyed during the 1990 elections, and if he continues to act as he has been doing, we fear that he will lose the support of the Muslim League as well or that a new Muslim League will emerge as has happened in the past. It does not matter to us who becomes the president; the Eighth Amendment, however, is not the particular affair of any one party or group of individuals and the power to accept it or abrogate it should not rest in the hands of a few individuals.

PPP Role in Sharif-Khan Struggle Viewed

93AS0717C Lahore MUSAWAT in Urdu 17 Mar 93 p 4

[Editorial: "Present Confusion and Opposition"]

[Text] The political scene in the whole nation is in a turmoil since the Nawaz Sharif government started the talks about revoking the Eighth Amendment. Even the ruling party is showing signs of agitation over this issue. The leaders of the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] and the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] have become extremely active over this development. This issue is basically related to the division of authority among the government branches. The PPP and PDA leaders as well as Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, the NDA [National Democratic Alliance] leader, have all met with the PPP chairperson. Some of the central executive members of the party have faxed their opinions on this issue to Madam Bhutto. Madam Bhutto has asked the feelings of all people around her; however, she has not herself reacted to the issue of Eighth Amendment. She has said that no quick decision should be made on the internal affairs of the Government, and that these should be closely examined. Thus, she is practicing the policy of "wait and see." The decision on this issue will be made in the party's central executive when the time is right.

We learn the reality about Madam Bhutto's strategy as time passes. The formula for cooperation between the Government and the opposition that was being touted energetically a few days ago has cooled now. A recent statement issued by Shujat Hussain has made it clear that there is no possibility of any agreement between the government and the PPP. Similarly, Maulana Tahir Al-Qadiri said after meeting with the president that the president cannot dismiss the assemblies after the Saif Allah Case. His authority is limited now. According to Maulana Tahir Al-Qadiri, this opinion was expressed by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan himself.

In light of the statements of Shujat Hussain and Maulana Tahir Al-Qadiri, it is clear that the news circulated in the newspapers about possible cooperation between the Government and the opposition are not true. The Nawaz

government is not in the mood to collaborate with the PPP nor does the president want to break up the assemblies. The whole issue is limited to the disagreement between Nawaz Sharif and the president over the division of authority given by the Eighth Amendment.

Madam Bhutto has been involved in fights about democracy since Zia-ul-Haq's time, and she is fully aware of the present government's interests and its undemocratic thoughts. Therefore, she has decided to wait and see, rather than make any decision about this struggle over authority. She knows that the office holders in the Government will cooperate with each other in order to prolong their hold on the Government. However, they will think about a thousand times before collaborating with the opposition.

Until yesterday, it was common knowledge in the national press that the relationship between the president and the prime minister was so bad that they did not even talk with each other. However, today the prime minister revealed to the journalists in Gawadar that he has no differences with the president, and that the whole talk about this disagreement was newspaper propaganda. Both the president and the prime minister were present in the Iftar [breaking the fast] dinner given by Admiral Ahmed Syed Khan. They both hugged each other and sat at the same table. According to some federal cabinet members, they will be meeting soon. While discussing the present situation, the president said that the Government should have first consulted him if it wanted to raise the issue of the Eighth Amendment.

The fact is that the present government was born out of threats and deceptions, and the president has been equally involved in such activities. Both sides will be hurt badly if their differences increase. The assembly members who are the products of this subterfuge will lose their seats. If the Eighth Amendment is revoked, the president will become a mere rubber stamp. The discord between the prime minister and the president could result in the weakening or the fall of this government. That is why these people prefer to talk among themselves instead of collaborating with the opposition, and to keep the status quo, with some minor changes.

The opposition parties are demanding dismissal of the present assemblies and the holding of elections. This is their primary political stand. However, when the president refuses to dismiss the assemblies, and the Government refuses to hold talks with the opposition, it is clear that the people within the Government do not want to fight with each other even though they have differences. They want to hurt the people and destroy democracy by cooperating with each other.

It is important for the opposition to examine this turn of affairs. If they know that the struggle between the prime minister and the president is just for show, they should focus on the democratic forces and the people instead of looking at the president and the prime minister. They must unite in a way that the government is forced to

establish a caretaker government and hold new elections. The present government is responsible for all the undemocratic activities, crime, and lawlessness that is prevalent in the nation. The president is responsible for the social anarchy in the country because he protects these wrong policies. The long march campaign was against both of these. If the opposition cannot take advantage of the present conflict, it must rekindle the democratic forces within the people and try to bring about revolutionary changes in the present political system.

MQM, New Chairman Tariq's Future Viewed

93AS0714J Karachi HERALD in English 15 Feb 93
pp 40-41

[Article by Indrees Bakhtiar: "Will Altaf Return?"]

[Text] *Even after the nomination of Azim Tariq as chairman of the MQM, the fate and fortune of the party and its former leader Altaf Hussain remain uncertain*

Speculation is rife about Altaf Hussain's imminent return from self-exile in London. A flurry of reports has appeared in the national press indicating that the former MQM chief will stage a comeback in order to take command of his battered, bruised and divided party once again. In fact, certain reports have gone so far as to claim that he will be back before the month is out.

Is there even a shred of truth in the rumours doing the rounds? And if these stories are unfounded, what are the motives behind their proliferation?

One cannot entirely discount the fact that many of these rumours might have been fanned by Altaf Hussain's diehard supporters. Moreover, the motive in spreading this news, analysts believe, is simply to weaken the position of Altaf Hussain's successor, Azim Tariq. Political analysts also suggest that those circulating these rumours are clearly acting upon directives issued from Altaf Hussain himself. They believe that speculation about their leader's return serves the dual purpose of discrediting Azim Tariq and sending out a strong signal to hardcore Altaf followers not to lend any more support to the present chairman.

Informed sources believe that Altaf Hussain had earlier given up all hope of ever returning to Pakistan in safety, given the animosity of the army at the time. However, still wanting to retain control of the party, he set up Azim Tariq as its surrogate leader.

The change in Altaf's strategy, it seems, came after the death of the army chief General Asif Nawaz Janjua. Following the general's death, it appears that Altaf Hussain envisaged a change in the establishment's thinking and wanted his most trusted former lieutenant to pave the way for his own safe return to Pakistan. Under the present circumstances, that was expecting too much of Azim Tariq.

When Azim Tariq emerged from hiding on November 28 to take control of the MQM—apparently after arriving at an understanding with the intelligence agencies—it was expected that the bulk of MQM supporters would soon rally round him, although approval from London for this move was delayed. Initially, a number of party workers did visit the makeshift offices of the MQM at Tipu Sultan Road, where Azim Tariq held court. But these gatherings gradually thinned out.

This was due in part to Azim Tariq's inability to arrange for the release of arrested MQM workers, as well as his failure to fully convince the majority of MQM supporters that he could actually deliver on this promise. But there is perhaps more to this sudden downswing in his fortunes than merely a lack of confidence in his abilities on the part of party workers.

Presently, Azim Tariq is not in a position to dictate any terms to the government. Informed sources say that Tariq and the dissident MQM faction, the Haqiqis, are totally controlled by the intelligence agencies and are as such in no position to take any independent decisions.

Meanwhile, Senator Ishtiaq Azhar, who remains Altaf Hussain's most vocal spokesman in this country, constantly cites Azim Tariq's connections with the intelligence agencies, apparently in order to discredit him. "He can't even move without their approval," Azhar said recently.

Another factor that seems to have encouraged Altaf loyalists is the failure of attempts to unite the Azim Tariq faction and the Haqiqi group. Sources close to Azim Tariq reveal that some agencies have, in fact, asked him not to resolve his differences with the Haqiqis, although negotiations have been held between representatives of the two groups. This, perhaps, is why the splintered factions of the MQM have so far not arrived at a mutually satisfactory agreement—nor, it seems, is there hope of any rapprochement in the near future.

According to another source, the breakdown of trust between the Altaf Hussain and Azim Tariq was provoked by some 'loose talk' at gatherings held at the Tipu Sultan Road office—talk that was obviously relayed to Altaf Hussain. Although Azim Tariq has been careful not to denounce his former chief publicly, "privately, Azim Tariq and other MQM leaders speak against Altaf Hussain," says this source. The contents of one such conversation with an Islamabad journalist even appeared in a newspaper although Azim Tariq denies having granted any such interview.

Meanwhile, Senator Azhar has been frantically trying to iron out differences between Altaf Hussain and Islamabad, and recently held a meeting with the president. The outcome of this meeting is not yet known, given how difficult it is to gauge President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Perhaps Ishtiaq Azhar's optimism, in believing that he has convinced the president to rethink the present policy towards the MQM, is merely a sign of his naivete rather than an indicator of anything more concrete.

Some sources insist that the president still retains a soft corner for the MQM, and will allow the party to continue functioning. However, even if these reports have some substance there is no sign that the army has softened its stance, despite the arrival of a new chief. In fact, unconfirmed reports suggest that the president and the new COAS have developed differences of opinion over the MQM issue. Even with a new man in charge, it seems that the president finds it hard to elicit the army's support for any relatively softened posture on this issue. Expectations among MQM circles that a change of COAS would make their lives easier, therefore, are far from being fulfilled.

Following Altaf's near rejection of Azim Tariq, sources say that a large number of workers who had earlier come out of hiding to appear at the new chief's Tipu Sultan Road headquarters have begun to desert him, and many have gone underground once again.

"This suggests that Altaf Hussain no longer trusts Azim Tariq," says one analyst. The leader-in-exile, it appears, has plans of his own. But in the present political climate, these plans will be hard to implement unless he succeeds in reviving his own support from within the many factions of the MQM.

Clearly, it is unlikely that Altaf Hussain will regain his former political clout while he remains in London, so far removed as he is from the political action. It is for this reason, analysts believe, that he now appears so anxious to return to the country. According to well-placed sources, however, the chances of his actual return are close to zero.

For one thing, Altaf Hussain will not return to Pakistan until he is guaranteed safety on his arrival here. "He is not going to risk his life," an MQM leader said. But no such assurances are forthcoming from any quarter. On the contrary, the authorities have begun court proceedings against him and in some cases chalaans have already been issued. As the situation stands, Altaf Hussain can indeed return to Pakistan—if he is ready to face the music. Signs are, however, that he will prefer to continue biding his time in the safety of his new home in London until he receives a green signal from Islamabad.

MQM Seen as Sole Alternative for Mohajirs

93AS0718A Karachi AMN in Urdu 9 Mar 93 p 3

[Article by Sayed Fahim-Al-Din Ahmad: "MQM: Mohajir's Sole Protector"]

[Text] More than forty-six years have passed since the creation of Pakistan; the Mohajirs crossed rivers of blood and fire to gain Pakistan. [Whatever the sacrifice], the Mohajirs were happy to see that at least their sacrifices gained a new country for the Muslims, where they can celebrate religious festivals with pomp and circumstance; where there is no caste system such as that among the Hindus and, most important of all, the people can be Pakistanis. Who knows what other hopes the

Mohajirs had entertained, but gradually, their golden dream began to shatter. Only a few years after the founding of Pakistan, the Mohajirs discovered that those who lived in this country were not Pakistanis—but Punjabis, Sindhis, Baluchis, or Pathans. In India, the Mohajirs were martyred by the Hindus; but in Pakistan, they were martyred sometimes in the Pakka Qila operation, sometimes in the Ali Garh tragedy, occasionally by bombs or as members of the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement].

When God created the Mohajirs, He must have added an extra amount of love of country to their clay, and that was why for 40 years, the Mohajirs voted for the Muslim League or Jamaat-I-Islami even though these parties not only did nothing for the Mohajirs but did not even try to understand their problems. Hence, young Mohajirs began to look around for a party which would understand and solve their problems. Altaf Hussain, himself a young Mohajir, undertook the task of finding solutions for their problems. He changed the way of thinking of Mohajir youth, and not only awakened the Mohajirs to reality, but brought them together on a single platform. Altaf Hussain breathed new life in the Mohajirs and taught them how to conduct their lives. Consequently, not only Mohajir youth but people of all ages respected Altaf Hussain with all their heart. Those in power did not like this; 98 percent of the people disapproved of unity among the Mohajirs, and finally on 19 June, a deep wound was inflicted on this unity. The wounding continues to this day.

What we do not understand is this: What unnatural crime did the Mohajirs commit if, for the first time in 40 years, they voted for candidates belonging to their own brotherhood? Why are the people and the government raising such a fuss? We never objected when, in the elections, all those with the surname Butt voted for the candidate named Butt; or when all the Chaudhries and the Maliks voted for candidates with their surnames; or when all the Zais voted for a certain Zai who was not a candidate [as published]. What was so novel about the Mohajirs doing what their countrymen have been doing all along?

Unfortunately, even now certain Mohajirs are not able to understand the reality of the situation, and they still think that all that is happening is directed against Altaf Hussain and the MQM. The measures which the province is taking are not aimed against just the MQM or Altaf Hussain, but against the 12 and ½ million Mohajirs who inhabit Sindh. The enmity of certain individuals towards Altaf Hussain should not make them forget that MQM is the only protector of the Mohajirs, and if this protection also is taken away, the Mohajirs will find no other sanctuary. Mohajirs, remember! The destruction of the MQM is not the destruction of just a few individuals but the destruction of the entire Mohajir nation. Just think! Why is the leader of the only party which represents the Mohajirs accused of being an agent of RAA [expansion not given]? Why have bounties been placed on the leaders of the Mohajirs? Why was Altaf

Hussain forced to retire from politics? Has any political party or its leader ever been treated in this manner? If the answer is in the negative, then why was this treatment meted out to the only party which represents the Mohajirs? Could the reason be that this party is the party of the poor, the party of the Mohajirs? The time has come to change our attitude.

We should analyze the situation, stop being emotional, and follow the example of those other ethnic groups who are uniting to obtain their rights. Whether the issue is jobs or business, political unity or national affairs, the Mohajirs also should emulate those other ethnic groups

who are employing individual and group efforts to benefit their brothers. Certainly, we are all Pakistanis, but we should create unity in our own ethnic group and continue a united effort to obtain our rights. In this way, the strength and prosperity of ethnic groups will in turn create a strong and prosperous country. All this becomes possible through the power of unity, and unity comes through having a single party and single leadership. God in His mercy has granted us both a party and a leader. We should stay faithful at all costs, and though tested a thousand times, we should advance under their guidance.

Foreign Investment Said Lessening*93AS0714B Lahore THE NATION in English
10 Mar 93 p 10*

[Article by Mahmood Awan: "Foreign Investment Drops Despite Government Incentives"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Islamabad—The flow of foreign investments into Pakistan is not quite as much as the government claims.

The latest investment figures compiled by the Government of Pakistan show all those investment promotion seminars held across the continents with great fanfare have yielded no dividends at all.

Foreign investments in Pakistan during the first five months of the current financial year were about one-tenth of the total 1991-92 figure.

These figures show investment by foreign groups and multinationals in Pakistan dropped at a time when the government was spending the most on promotional conferences to market investment incentives provided here to investors abroad.

Investment inflow to Pakistan retarded to U.S. \$59 million between July and November, 1992 against \$554 million in the entire fiscal 1991-92, an Industries Ministry report prepared recently shows.

Despite this dismal performance, Industries Minister Sh Rashid Ahmad hopes capital flow will increase substantially in the coming months as more and more foreign groups are finalising their investments here. His Ministry has prepared a list of more than 80 groups and companies who are pursuing their investment projects in Pakistan.

Government hopes of making a major headway on the industrialisation front are pinned mainly to the establishment of the \$400 million Daewoo Corporation's Industrial complex at Port Qasim.

This complex of 20 to 30 units for the manufacture of textile, leather, garments, electronics components and transport spare parts would be established over 500 acres. The Industries Ministry says it will provide 20,000 jobs and add to Pakistani exports after completion.

The Ministry organised four investment promotions seminars abroad between June, 1992 and December, 1992. The first one was held in London, to be followed by one in Canada, one in the U.S.A. and the last in Tokyo, Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif himself addressing the first and the last.

Though the figures annexed to the 'Comprehensive Follow-Up Report on the Investment Promotion Conferences' contradict it, the 28-page report says these conferences succeeded in evincing interest of many industrial groups for investing in Pakistan.

The report clearly shows Pakistan government's policy of opening up the economy received a very encouraging response in the beginning but the initial euphoria cooled off in just a year.

The overall foreign equity investment increased from \$237 million in 1990-91 to \$553.6 million next year and \$612.7 million from 1 July 1991 up to November, 1992, the report says. This does not speak much for the first five months of the current fiscal. Commerce Ministry statistics show that the import of machinery, which is also an important indicator of the pace of industrialisation, increased from \$1.56 billion in 1990-91 to \$2.5 billion during 1991-92. These figures, however, relate to the previous financial year and no mention is made of the first half of 1992-93.

Annexed with this report is also a list of over 80 foreign companies that have shown interest in investing in Pakistan at the different investment promotion seminars so far. The list includes many big names, including those of Chrysler of U.S.A., Asea Brown Boveri and Alcatel of France.

Chrysler is working on its proposed project for the production of four-wheel drive jeeps at their joint venture partner Hinopak's facilities in Karachi.

The company informed the Industries Minister recently it will start production of the vehicles within the next 18 months.

Alcatel is replacing the old telephone exchanges in Pakistan with the new digital ones. It will also start manufacture of telephone instruments at its factory near Islamabad very soon.

Government Statement on Foreign Reserves Said Inaccurate*93AS0713K Lahore THE NATION in English 6 Mar 93
p 6*

[Editorial: "Foreign Reserves"]

[Text] Federal Finance Minister Sartaj Aziz informed the Senate during question hour that total foreign exchange reserves of the country amounted to, approximately, one billion dollars last month. He added, that the increase in foreign exchange reserves was mainly attributable to the economic reform policies undertaken by his government, particularly that of allowing resident Pakistanis to have foreign currency accounts. No one can argue against this assessment but what one can question is the inherent effectiveness of such a policy in a country where the currency is eroding both domestically and in foreign markets; and where the only savings likely to keep the current purchasing power level is that done in foreign currencies. But access to foreign currency deposits by the Government of Pakistan have failed to lead to lower aid inflow into the country or indeed a more favourable balance of payment position. On the contrary, Pakistan's balance of payment problems and

its reliance on foreign aid have worsened during the last two years thus continuing the trend set previously. And there are apprehensions within the banking community that capital flight, now legally admissible, has reached alarming proportions.

At the same time claims made by the Government of Pakistan regarding the inflow of foreign investment also seem to have been overoptimistic. According to figures released by the Ministry of Industries direct foreign investment into Pakistan was merely 59 million dollars during July to November 1992. Such dismal statistics clearly reflect that the four international conferences organised by the Ministry of Industries, the repeated assurances by our top executives that foreign investment is flowing into the country and the expensive advertisements appearing in the foreign media have, so far, not borne fruit. Thus foreign exchange reserves continue to be a problem for the Government of Pakistan coupled with the low confidence reposed by the public in the domestic currency. It is necessary that the government turn its attention to solving the confidence crisis relative to the rupee and only then will it be able to arrest capital flight and, on the contrary, attract foreign investment.

Foreign Investment Said Exceeding \$600 Million

93AS0713F Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES
in English 11 Mar 93 p 10

[Article: "Foreign Investment Touches \$612.70 Million Mark in 91-93"]

[Text] Lahore, March 10: Pakistan has fetched foreign investment to the tune of \$612.70 million during the year 1991-93 highly placed source of Ministry of Industries said here on Wednesday.

Country attracted foreign investment of \$59.1 million during the July November 1992 period, the source added. The source said the entrepreneurs from U.S.A. made investment of \$264.3 million during 1991-92 while in 1990-91 the figure was \$135 million. These investors showed their keen interest in the field of power generation, textiles, manufacture of synthetic fibre, chemical industry etc. Entrepreneurs from Hong Kong shared \$83.7 million during the year 1991-92 by making a long jump from \$3.4 million during 1991. They showed interest in chemicals and textiles besides making investment in stockmarket, the source said.—PPI.

Economic Chaos Foreseen Possible

93AS0713E Karachi DAWN in English 12 Mar 93 p VI
(supplement)

[Article by Majid Sheikh: "Limited Options Before Authorities To Avoid Economic Chaos"]

[Text] The events of the last one week seem destined to have a telling effect on the Federal Budget 1993-94 with very few options left for the government but to announce dramatic cuts and job losses.

The last one week has seen the freeing of the Indian economy from the shackles of bureaucratic control. The Indian rupee has managed to withstand the initial crazy buying of dollars by importers to dramatically remain stable at Indian Rs [Rupees] to the dollar. On Wednesday it further stabilised, thanks to minor adjustments by the Reserve Bank of India [RBI] to reflect a picture of stability at Rs 31.5. This has sent panic waves through the Pakistani system. On Wednesday the Pakistani rupee saw for the first time a one percent rise in the British pound, a 0.65 p.c. rise in the dollar and similar increases in all the major currencies, including the Deutsche mark. It is in such times that the basket float system presents a skewed look and things begin to look really bad.

But according to market analysts in Karachi and Lahore, the picture would not be that bad if matters economic were left to market forces and not bureaucrats. The refusal of commercial banks to provide loans to genuine investors, the very high interest rates (18% plus 7% risk cover makes for a very unIslamic 25%) and the failure to control the law and order situation in Sindh have all led to investment, both from foreign and domestic sources, plummeting. Instead of trying to solve these basic problems, the government, thanks to a blinkered administration, has started cracking down on business houses to extract more revenues. This has further compounded the problems the government faces.

Over the last six months the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] Government has, undoubtedly, announced schemes and policies that are in keeping with the spirit of our times. The businessman-led government has got the spirit right. There are grave doubts about the transparency of the activities of the government and its will to challenge the paralysing role of the civil and military bureaucracy in national affairs. Experts mostly agree that Pakistan's civil and military bureaucracy, both past and present, does not always act in the national interest. The mere fact that our bureaucrats are the richest in the world speaks volume of the power that they wield in affairs economic and political. Western analysts describe this as a typical Third World happening.

The Indian budget has brought to the surface in Pakistan a few important problems that were being ignored. In Islamabad most bureaucrats now openly admit that the kitty is absolutely empty. The dramatic efforts to raise revenues is "like clutching to straws" as a leading Ministry to Commerce official put it. There is no clear cut policy of letting the system function in a natural manner. The Indian decision to further open up their economy, let their rupee be freely convertible and to bring down import restrictions and duties, all in a controlled manner, has suddenly put India in the driving seat as a major player in the free enterprise world. In a way the Pakistani economy is a much more closed and one that is still manipulated by officials, big, small and petty, to their personal advantage. The end result is that even domestic private expansion projects have come to a virtual halt.

The Pakistani bureaucracy has let a story float in the media that after accounting for inflation, current expenditures will rise by five percent. What it means is that the bureaucrats will not lose any jobs, their salaries and perks will increase and they will, silently, have greater powers. This is a major setback for the Prime Minister. His electoral promise of bringing about a lean and efficient bureaucracy that does not mistrust the people and provide them "single window operations" has been blown to shreds. Huge departments that have no place in modern day governments continue to exist, and instead of cutting the number of bureaucrats by the promised 30 percent, their power and perks have helped to widen the financial deficit.

The question is where will all this money come from. If nothing else, the 1993-94 Budget will have to announce massive job cuts, if, as experts say, the IJI is to 'fairly' win the next general elections, let alone survive electing again a President from an era that cannot return.

Limited Options

This situation has brought forth a limited number of options before the government. According to a reliable official source in Islamabad the donor agencies have placed before the government this list of options if they are to be provided with any further assistance. Experts working for these donors have predicted that if these options are not followed, Pakistan's economy will be pushed into further economic chaos.

For starters, on the monetary front, money supply will have to be much more controlled, the 'managed float' made more transparent and interest rates lowered to within reasonable levels. Monetary institutions must also be made more accountable and transparent. The State Bank of Pakistan must be made much more powerful and must be restricted to the role of a policeman, not a manipulator or regulator. The Pakistani government must move very fast to make Pakistani banking dynamic, reliable and honest. The concept of 'venture capital' has been suggested as "fitting Pakistan's peculiar social and religious ethos." If the budget fails on any of these scores, it is suggested that we might well miss the bus of progress again.

On the fiscal side, it has been suggested to the government, that there is a need to continue to concentrate on infrastructure. This the IJI Government is already doing, but not fast enough, the proposals indicate. There is a need to further accelerate these efforts. There is a need to curb import duties to a maximum of 35 percent. The current duty structure is not helpful.

The Indians have moved very fast on this front. It has been suggested that if Pakistan is to outpace them, ours being a smaller economy and less well regulated, import duties need to be curbed, especially those of basic raw materials. If the Pakistan government feels that for finished products harsher import duties are needed to

protect the domestic industry, it is suggested that even that must be a selective process if newer technologies are to be secured.

Business Taxes

On the corporate taxation front there is a suggested need to cut corporate taxes to maximum of 35 percent. Small businesses need to be promoted not in the PSIC [expansion not given] or SSIC [expansion not given] style of doing more damage than help to budding entrepreneurs, but by letting them manage their act themselves. Specific NGOs [Nongovernment organization] need to be funded to promote entrepreneurship, especially among women, with a greater emphasis on rural women. The tax net must be spread to every individual holding a national identity card. The final step of taxing farmers needs to be taken on this basis. It is now an established fact that only by taxing farmers will the rural sector be made to industrialise. This process has to be undertaken to hasten the process of industrialisation.

The above mentioned steps seem to be the limited options before the IJI Government, at least in the manner the donors see them. The bureaucrats have already read the writing on the wall and have announced a five percent increase in spending after accounting for inflation. This trend of short-circuiting the political forces must be stopped by the government who must announce specific job and department reductions. This is happening in the U.S.A., in India, in Russia and all countries of the world. The government must also make an effort to inform the people that the role of the government is not to provide jobs, or even to sustain existing ones. Its role is limited to providing an environment that helps people to function freely.

It is ironic that an open and frank debate on what the budget should be has still not been initiated. Over the last four years a deliberate effort has been made to keep the media as far away from the budget process as possible. The end result has always been more economic chaos. Maybe a time has come when this will no longer be possible.

Inflation Said Increasing

93AS0714F Lahore THE NATION (supplement)
in English 13 Mar 93 p II

[Article by Wahab Kazimi: "Inflation Tightens its Grip"]

[Text] Money markets during last week showed considerable weaknesses in the money and banking sector. Rise in money in circulation exceeding the percentage increase in production forced the prices to rise and inflation to tighten its grip. The scheduled banks made more investments in government securities and avoided any risk taking business. On average the advances of the scheduled banks in relation to total deposits showed healthy trends. The bills purchased and discounted both

inland and foreign were on the higher side. Scheduled banks, despite lower deposit creation, did reasonably well.

The approved foreign exchange reserves of the State Bank of Pakistan and balances held abroad showed modest improvement and were depicting a rising trend. The government intentions for filing the demand of US \$ one billion from SDRS is likely to produce better results on foreign exchange front.

The domestic deposits of scheduled banks in Pakistan excluding inter bank items decreased to Rs 422,912 million during the week ended February 25, 1993 from Rs 430,566 million a week ago, a decline of Rs 7,654 million, or say 1.8 per cent. The deposits a week before last stood at Rs 432,502 million. Three week's deposit position is indicative of continuous slid in banks deposits in Pakistan. The interesting phenomenon which is developing over the review period is that demand deposits are falling whereas the reverse trend could be seen in time deposits. Demand deposits as on February 25, February 18 and February 11, were of the order of Rs 216,722 million, 210,481 million and 204,376 million respectively. As against of which the time deposits were Rs 206,190 million, 220,085 million and Rs 228,106 million on dates as specified.

The domestic advances of the scheduled banks during the week under review increased to Rs 281,262 million as against Rs 280,781 million in the preceding week showing an increase of Rs 481 million but at the same time these were slightly higher while compared to the week ending February 11, 1993. Advances to banks remained stagnant but these were lower by 1,000 million compared to week ending February 11, 1993. The advances to banks during these period stood at Rs 9826 million, 9,900 million and Rs 10,667 million respectively.

Bills purchased and discounted by the scheduled banks in Pakistan, inland, imports and foreign increased to Rs 41,041 million from Rs 40,828 million showing an increase of Rs 213 million. There was a modest increase in inland and import bills while the foreign bills excluding imports were marginally on the lower side. The advances including bills purchased and discounted were more than 90 per cent of the total deposits for week under review.

The investment in securities and shares made by the scheduled banks stood at Rs 193,183 million against Rs 193,636 million last week and Rs 193,975 million a week before last. During the week, investment in central government securities was Rs 115,352 million, provincial government securities Rs 3,730 million, treasury bills Rs 49,110 million, other approved securities Rs 14,510 million and Rs 10,489 million.

According to statement issued by State Bank of Pakistan for the week ended March 4, 1993, notes in circulation in Pakistan increased to Rs 181,946,713,000 from Rs 179,839,376,000 last week denoting an increase of Rs

1,106,337,000 and Rs 2,827,654,000 compared to a week earlier than last. This trend clearly shows that inflationary pressure is mounting on the depressed economy and the State Bank's monetary instruments are doing possibly little in controlling such an odd situation. The mounting budget deficit is causing concern among the professional economists and the World Bank monitors who are constantly warning the government to keep monetary measures active to curtail any unwarranted situation.

Pakistan approved foreign exchange reserves showed a modest rise of Rs 61.60 million ending at Rs 19,883,541,000 against Rs 19,281,942,000. But these were substantially higher than the week ending February 18, 1993 when these were merely Rs 17,191,766,000. The rising trends are described to be a healthy sign. Balances held outside Pakistan however remained unfavourable while these stood at Rs 7.966 million against Rs 8.779 million last week and Rs 6.340 million a week before last. Loans and advances to scheduled banks of Pakistan remained stagnant, these were Rs 64,268,682,000 against Rs 64,002,012,000 last week. Agricultural sector was the maximum recipient when it got Rs 31.319 million; followed by industrial sector Rs 9.059 million, export sector Rs nil, housing sector Rs 5.996 million and others Rs 2.862 million.

State Bank made higher investments in government securities amounting to Rs 31.606 million followed by in scheduled banks Rs 8.215 million and non-bank financial institutions Rs 1.957 million.

Economy Said in Extremely Poor Shape

93AS0713D Karachi DAWN in English 13 Mar 93 p 13

[Article by Mushtaq Ahmad: "Chronic Ills of the Economy"]

[Text] Lands, licences and loans are the chronic ill of the economy. No less chronic are others like contracts, commissions and corruption. Each according to its capacity has done its damage to the country which we have not been able to repair. Since politics and economics go hand in hand, their impact on both has been equally damaging.

To no small extent, singly or in collusion, they have thwarted the emergence of a rational pattern of distribution of wealth and income. The vast disparities that have appeared in the course of development have in turn, warped and vitiated the entire body politic. Their action and interaction has banefully influenced our economic conduct and political behaviour.

The whole system of values in society is dominated and determined by the possession of wealth, which men relentlessly seek and strive to amass through fair or foul means, more often foul than fair. The pursuers and possessors ride on the shoulders of the deprived and the dispossessed. However high sounding the declarations of

the constitution and the pronouncement of the politicians about liberty, equality and opportunity, the masses are unequal and separate from the classes, which are superior and equal within their own fraternity.

The under-privileged exist for the state and the state exists for the privileged, who subordinate the supreme national interest to their narrow selfish interests. There was a time when safeguarding what they had, was their primary aim. Now the aim is not merely to hold what they have but have more and more of what they already possess. For the stake to be permanent, it has to be a state of plenty even if the rest of society it means a condition of scarcity. The permanence of power demands an abundance of the means for its attainment and retention.

The masses whose franchise they successfully manage and manipulate by dint of their money power, are in the process disfranchised, being rendered powerless to return their own representatives to the legislatures. Whatever its form, state patronage is monopolised by the owning classes from whom the ruling classes derive their mandate to govern in a *de facto* sense regardless of its *de jure* rationale.

Outside the area of private ownership, even a market economy state has under its control immense material resources over which its custodians exercise a disposal power without having to render accountability to the people to whom it legally belongs. In a feudal state, such as Pakistan was at its inception and is largely so even today, land especially agricultural land, was the greatest single source of wealth. The wealth has multiplied manifold with millions of acres lying within the command area of the gigantic barrages and dams, which have been built at a tremendous cost to increase the food and raw material production for local and foreign consumption.

Since we are still undecided about land reforms, judging from aversion of administration to their implementation, we have strong reasons to doubt the bonafides of the government's intention to abolish an outdated medieval system or permit the extension of peasant proprietorship lest it threatens its existence. The distribution of the new lands among small peasant proprietors was therefore, never seriously considered. The state had no policy of establishing state or collective farms on land belonging to it. It was available for sale to those who could afford its price even though the price was never very high.

The traditional absentee landlords were already there to expand their estates, and a new class of landowners had emerged among the bureaucrats. They could have it allotted to their relatives and friends to enrich themselves at the expense of the state. The industrialists bought it as a safety valve for tax evasion. The government could provide them with no better or more convenient means of avoiding their obligation to the state. The feudal system which in course of time was expected to be weakened has found new sources of strength.

The expansion of commerce which was followed by the development of industry, provided yet another source of enrichment. Income from business apart which itself was fabulous, the acquisition of licences like the allotment of land, was in itself a lucrative activity. Though intangible unlike land, these assets were also within the power of the bureaucracy to dispense and the entrepreneurial class to dispose. They could either be utilised for the defined purpose or sold for a price in many cases much higher than the face value. With the growth of industrialisation the demand for licences increased for the import of raw material and machinery. Land for factories in the industrial estates and the infrastructural facilities contributed to the accumulation of income that was unearned. The industrialists grew rich overnight, and have grown richer ever since, notwithstanding their incessant clamour for concessions and yet more concessions.

After the character of the economy had changed from its totally agrarian base to a semi-industrial state, it whetted the economic appetite of the majority of businessmen who forged new strategies to deprive the state of its resources which created serious problems for management. There was a rapid growth of blackmarketing. The accumulation of black money was its logical consequence, for it was saved from the taxation net. The yield from custom duty, excise duty, wealth tax and income tax was shockingly below legitimate expectations.

It was a two-way traffic between officials and businessmen. The money that should have flowed into the state treasury, found its way into the coffers of the industrialists and into the safes of government servants, forcing the government to inject printed currency into circulation through deficit financing, to which every government had freely resorted instead of disgorging it from the tax evaders, blackmarketeers and corrupt officials. From Ayub Khan to Ziaul Haq, the attempts made for its recovery were half-hearted. From it the black money owners purchased their immunity by paying a fraction of it to the government.

Not even the whitening of black money through a general amnesty in the form of issuance of whitener bonds on Dr Mahbubul Haq's advice under the Zia Regime, was no guarantee against its future accumulation. Tax evasion has become a class habit. Black money is, therefore, a special preserve of individuals whether they happen to be industrialists, businessmen, bureaucrats, bankers, lawyers or doctors.

The assessee would not pay it, and the government would not insist on its payment either. Indirect taxes whose burden falls on the poor and deficit financing of which they are also the inevitable victims, is the line of least resistance. The governments whose tenure in any case is short are least worried about the long-term effects. The economy is consequently caught in the grip of mounting inflation that has a depressing impact on the living standards of the people whose reaction is bound to

destabilise the political process to sustain it. Depreciation of currency is certain to push the economy to the brink unless remedial measures are taken to arrest its rapid decline.

The vicious circle is not possible to break, for the very elements who have to break it, have put the country in its present predicament. The bureaucrats are the strong-arm politicians and businessmen their powerful economic allies. They have vitiated the country's internal economy, frittered away its assets on unproductive pursuits or locked them up in cement and mortar of the high-rises that have disfigured the urban landscape in the country, and distorted the balance of trade and payments by concealing a large chunk of our earnings from exports abroad in foreign accounts. The non-repatriation to the country and non-repayment of the loans borrowed from commercial and industrial banks at home, has compelled the government to put a heavy reliance on foreign aid. With rare exceptions, and these too subsequently became a part of rule, the industrial pioneers had to make little pioneering effort in the field as they had all the sinews of development, including capital as if on a platter, without caring to deliver the goods.

The grandeur of the cities and the overflowing wealth in the hands of the affluent class are deceptive signals for judging the state of the economy which is in a bad shape. The rapid development of real estate which has become a gold mine for its developers and owners alike and the glitter of the lifestyle, do not proclaim so much the wealth of the nation as the wealthiness of a class. It is a cause for serious concern when we look at the depleting state of the state treasury.

We cannot run the country on borrowed money without mortgaging its future to the borrowers. We are not like Israel which can have its loans written off. Experience has shown that not unoften we have to borrow fresh loans in order to repay the old ones with hide-bound guarantees of repayment. Paradoxically, the managers of the economy ride the high horse of prosperity while the economy itself is made to limp on borrowed crutches which are in constant need of repair and replacement.

Trade Deficit Said Narrowing

93AS0714D Lahore *THE NATION* in English
16 Mar 93 p 10

[Article by Wahab Kazimi: "Pakistan Trade Deficit Narrows in February"]

[Text] Karachi—According to the figures issued by the Federal Bureau of Statistics here recently, the trade deficit for the period July-June 1992-93 has narrowed as exports have swelled and imports remained under control. According to provisional figures, the country had a deficit of \$1,997 million which is reduced to \$1,294 million affecting an economy of \$703 million. Exports in terms of dollars stood at \$4,994 million and imports

\$6,290 million causing a deficit of \$1,294 million against last year's figures of imports \$6,083 million and exports \$4,086 million last year.

February 1993 was pretty good month as both exports and imports swelled. During the month, exports from Pakistan amounted to Rs 14,848 million against Rs 14,393 million in January 1993 showing an increase of 3.2 per cent and 5.2 per cent over February 1992. Exports in terms of dollars also increased by 2 per cent increasing to \$565 million from \$554 million but decreased by 1.1 per cent compared to February 1992 when it was \$571 million.

Exports during July-February 1992-93 totalled to Rs 114,771 million against Rs 101,028 million during the corresponding period last year showing an increase of 13.6 per cent. In terms of dollars, the exports totalled \$4,494 million against \$4,086 million.

Main items of exports during February 1993 were cotton yarn (Rs 2,475 million); cotton fabrics (Rs 1,579 million); readymade garments (Rs 1,340 million); synthetic textile fibres (1,011 million); raw cotton (Rs 904 million); rice (Rs 515 million); knitwear (Rs 842 million); bedwear (Rs 492 million); leather manufacture (Rs 476 million); leather goods (Rs 371 million followed by fish and fish preparations, carpets and carpeting, and petroleum and petroleum products.

Imports into Pakistan during this month mounted to Rs 20,385 million against Rs 22,889 million in January 1993 and Rs 18,537 million in February 1992. In terms of dollars, the imports decreased by 11.9 per cent in February 1993 (\$0.766 million) as compared to \$0.881 million in January 1993. Imports during July-June 1992-93 totalled Rs 160,625 million as against Rs 150,365 million during the corresponding period last year showing an increase of 6.8 per cent.

In terms of dollars the imports during the period July-February 1992-93 totalled \$6.290 million against \$6,083 million during the same period last year. Showing an increase of 3.4 per cent.

Major items of import during July-February 1992-93 were machinery excluding transport (Rs 3,984 million); chemicals (Rs 2,463 million); petroleum products (Rs 2,041 million); road motor vehicles (1,773 million); petroleum crude (Rs 1,199 million); wheat unmilled (Rs 1,695 million); edible oil (Rs 1,006 million); iron and steel (Rs 851 million); tea (Rs 481 million) and paper and paper board products (Rs 226 million).

Land Distribution Scheme's Effectiveness Doubted

93AS0677B Lahore *THE FRIDAY TIMES* in English
24 Feb 93 p 3

[Article by S.A. Brohi: "PM's Land Distribution Scheme Evokes Mixed Response"]

[Text] On February 7, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif announced the launching of his much publicised scheme for the distribution of "katcha" lands among the landless haris of Sindh. The PM pledged to distribute all the katcha lands in government control or under illegal occupation and provide the haris with protection and basic facilities of life. While most people in Sindh have welcomed the scheme, some apprehensions regarding the manner of its implementation are already being voiced.

The scheme itself is apparently the brainchild of a local bureaucrat. It impressed the prime minister so much, learned TFT, that he approved it without consulting other political parties or local peasant organisations.

A report was submitted to the PM by then Commissioner Larkana, Mr. Salahuddin Qureshi. This report informed the prime minister that hundreds of thousands of acres of "cultivable" land in katcha areas is under the illegal occupation of big landlords. If this land were to be retrieved and distributed among the peasants, so said the learned bureaucrat, the power of big landlords would be reduced and the PM's popularity would increase in equal proportion. It is said that the prime minister was so pleased with the bureaucrat that he was immediately transferred and posted Commissioner Sukkur Division.

Once the scheme had been approved by the prime minister, the government discovered that the records of the Revenue, Forest and other departments were often conflicting. They also found that much of the record of the katcha lands was missing. The Federal Government sent Army survey teams under the supervision of the Survey General of Pakistan to carry out an accurate survey of the lands. Teams are still busy in various districts of the province.

According to the record and figures of the Revenue department, the katcha area of Sindh from Sukkur to Shah Bandar (Thatta) is spread over 1,460,643 acres. A large proportion is under the illegal occupation of feudal landlords while a considerable part is owned by the Forest department. Thousands of acres of katcha land have also been leased to local zamindars and haris for cultivation. While the Revenue department estimates that at least 214,132 acres of katcha land have been given to farmers on lease, official sources contend that it has been a long time since a survey of these lands was conducted and that this figure may in fact be higher.

In fact, the figures of different departments do not tally. According to the records of the Forest department, it owns at least 565,808 acres of katcha land. But according to the Revenue department, the Forest department owns only 389,944 acres. Moreover, official records show that at least 420,440 acres belonging to the Revenue department and 28,704 acres belonging to the Forest department are being illegally occupied by influential landlords of the area.

Official circles are of the view that the prime minister launched the scheme before the survey was completed because, according to Revenue department figures, the

government has at least 122,023 acres of cultivable land available to it for distribution immediately.

Whatever the real intentions are behind the PM's scheme, Sindh's political and social circles and peasant organisations are of the view that if implemented with the right spirit, the programme is bound to benefit haris of the katcha area. But at the same time, they have certain reservations and apprehensions about the programme.

The main reservation concerns the haste with which the programme has been conducted. "A commission of agricultural experts, farmers organisations, and even other local organisations should have been set up to study the matter and give its recommendations," says Ali Mir Shah, the president of Sindh Abadgar Board (SAB), the representative organisation of Sindhi farmers. "But it seems that the prime minister is in a hurry to create a political base in Sindh. Although this may bring him short-term benefits, the PM's popularity will be short-lived if the scheme eventually fails."

Others say that land distribution is a provincial subject and the federal government's interest is politically motivated. "It is a political game," says Wishno Mall of the Sindhi Hari Tehreek (SHT), hari wing of Rasool Bux Palejo's Awami Tehreek. "The government is spending crores of rupees on advertisements in local newspapers. It seems that Nawaz Sharif wants to gain the sympathies of haris as well as to pressurise influential landlords who belong to the PPP." "Not a single acre of land has been retrieved from the influential landlords who have illegally occupied it. In district Naushehro Feroz, Ketji Jatoti [owned by NPP chief Ghulam Mustafa Jatoti] and Ketji Mumtaz Bhutto include thousands of acres of land that have been illegally occupied. But even though the scheme has been launched in those areas, illegally occupied lands have not been touched" Wishno Mall claims.

Despite the government's efforts to dispel this notion, Sindh's nationalist organisations see the programme as a conspiracy to distribute Sindh's lands among non-Sindhis, especially retired Punjabi army men and bureaucrats. "They will distribute a few thousand acres among the local haris and then later the rest will be doled out among the Punjabis," fears Ghulam Shah, chief of Jeay Sindh Mehaz (JSM).

There are some indications of mismanagement by bureaucracy and influential landlords close to the government. So far, land has been distributed in three districts: Dadu, Naushehro Feroz and Larkana. According to official sources most of the land is not in fact being 'distributed' among landless haris. "The government is regularising lands that had earlier been given to farmers on lease" confirmed the official source.

In this process, however, the bureaucracy and influentials are favouring their own people and depriving those who have the slightest chance of being PPP supporters. Reports suggest that influential personalities including ministers belonging to those areas are getting lease orders

of those people who have been cultivating the land for many years cancelled and regularising these lands in the name of their 'own men'. "In the PM's public gathering in Naushehro Feroz a hari came to me with some documents and told me that the minister belonging to that area had got his lease cancelled and regularised it in the name of one of his favourites," complained Ali Mir Shah, president of Sindh Abadgar Board.

All the arrangements of the public meeting in Dadu where the prime minister was to distribute title deeds were made by Ameer Hyder Shah, MPA, and an influential landlord of district Dadu who is the son of octogenarian secessionist politician Mr. G.M. Syed. But everyone participating in the meeting was surprised as Mr. Shah did not address the gathering, and was even asked to get off the stage. Official sources later disclosed that Ameer Hyder was snubbed because the PM discovered that a large number of the haris among whom he was about to distribute title deeds were actually Mr. Shah's "men" and that the MPA had had their names registered using his influence.

Wishno Mall of the Hari Tehreek found similar complaints in district Naushehro Feroz, which he visited after land had been 'distributed'. "Many haris of the area complained that government ministers and bureaucrats had got the lease orders of small farmers cancelled and land regularised in the name of their favourites," he says.

Other reports suggest that influentials close to the government are forcibly taking the identity cards of poor peasants so that they can have land allotted in their names while occupying it themselves.

The government has claimed that it decided to launch the programme in only three districts in the first phase, and will include the remaining districts in the second phase. Sindhis, however, are cynical. "Khairpur district has not been included in the programme only because it includes the ketis of Pir Pagaro and no one can dare to retrieve lands under his control" said one local political leader, Comrade Jam Sadiq, former communist leader and now central leader of Sindh Democrats group, claims that illegally occupied land in Khairpur district is already being registered in the name of the Hurs, who are Pir Pagaro's men. This work, he claims, is being done with the "cooperation" of corrupt officials in the Revenue department.

The clearing of forests on the katcha lands to make way for cultivation will be a matter of concern for environmentalists too. According to reports, forests in the katcha area are being cut down, even by officials of the forest department, on the pretext of creating land for haris.

"Officers of the forest department are earning millions of rupees illegally by selling trees" confirmed a source, saying that no record is being maintained about the trees cut down and sold off. Forest cover in Pakistan is already as little as 4 per cent land of the total land and in Sindh this percentage is even lower.

Nevertheless, political leaders and agricultural experts interviewed by TFT agreed that the PM's scheme, if implemented properly, could revolutionise the lives of the haris. They made some suggestions as to how the scheme could be successfully implemented.

Local organisations of haris and other political organisations should be included in the programme in order to keep a check on mismanagement. Land may well be given to the haris but ensuring that it stays in their hands will not be easy. Experts suggest that the government should not rely on the construction of police stations since past experience shows that the police is easily manipulated by waderas. They propose that non-governmental organisations (NGOs) should be established in order to supervise matters and safeguard haris' rights.

Political organisations recommend that peasant courts be set up in the manner of the labour courts. This would also require the formulation of laws specifying those rights. The Tenancy act which was formulated 20 years ago to protect the rights of haris requires strict implementation.

Education is another area that needs to be stressed so that the new generation of haris is aware of its rights. Finally, they propose that all the land illegally occupied by influentials should be retrieved without any political consideration and distributed among the landless peasants.

Oil Said Transforming One Small Impoverished Town

93AS0677C Lahore THE FRIDAY TIMES in English
24 Feb 93 p 4

[Article by M.A. Lodhi: "Oil Brings Prosperity to Backward Sindh"]

[Text] Ten years ago, the people of Badin district could never have imagined that nature would cast its dice in their favour. Situated fifty miles off the left bank of the River Indus before it finally drops into sea, Badin existed as a cultural backwater for centuries until a foreign oil exploration firm, Union Texas Pakistan (UTP), set foot into its territory.

Badin is now almost unrecognisable. Its people have traversed centuries of backwardness into a world of scientific innovations, hygienic food, modern schools and hospitals and club life. Their children now talk about Mutant Ninja Turtles.

Union Texas Pakistan is working in collaboration with Occidental (Oxy) and Oil and Gas Development Corporation (OGDC). TFT recently went to see the scale of change in Badin. In place of thatched hutments there are now air-conditioned compartments. Non-existent dispensaries have given way to fully-equipped hospitals,

and informal open-air schools have been replaced by proper educational institutions comparable to the best in the country.

UTP came to Pakistan following a general trend of oil companies to tap into oil at places other than the Gulf. It extended its technology to Pakistan at its own cost and, after four years of drilling, struck oil in Badin in 1981. The government of Pakistan then leased 524,270 acres of land as Badin Concession I to UTP and Oxy with a joint share of 51 percent while retaining 49 percent for OGDC.

Mr Herb Young, the manager of UTP, recalls the time when UTP first came to Pakistan. "We hit four empty wells and decided to try the last one just before packing off. It was the last dice," he says. It proved to be well worth the wait. UTP struck oil at its fifth well at Khaskheli, a sleepy village near Kario Ganhwar of Taluka Shaheed Fazil Rahoo. A series of success stories followed thereafter.

UTP has not looked back since then. Oil production in Khaskheli started in 1982. In all, there were 29 oil and gas discoveries of which 11 fields are currently in operation. Till 1991, the joint venture drilled 62 wells of which only 33 were dry. The success rate came to 47 percent against universally acknowledged eight percent rate of success in oil exploration.

The discoveries completely changed life in one of the remotest corners of the country—one which couldn't have expected such development for about another 50 years. UTP has been reasonably generous in funding projects for the social uplift of the locals. It has spent a huge amount on building schools, colleges for boys and girls, hospitals and contributed towards building roads, bridges and mosques. Although the company originally set-up these projects for members of its staff, they have ended up benefitting the entire community.

Before the advent of UTP, the locals had only government health and educational facilities to rely on. And they were not much good. People were not able to get most types of medicines from the poorly stocked dispensaries while most of the schools existed in name only. Schools for girls were few and far between while the concept of a girls college was inconceivable. Besides setting up such projects, the company has also been donating towards district Badin Scholarship Fund, Edhi Trust, Imran Khan's Hospital, the Prime Minister's relief fund and other welfare associations. So far it has spent Rs 24,283,538 on the social sector besides employing over 400 locals with benefits.

Considering the social and economic performance of the company, last year the government licenced the company for another three years to enable it to operate in the undiscovered areas of Badin. It has also granted UTP an additional 1,683,296 acres under Badin Concession Block II. So far the company has drilled 118 wells for oil and gas. Out of a total of 29 oil and gas discoveries, 11 fields are currently producing about 18,000 US barrels of oil per day (bpd)—out of the country's total production of 62,500 bpd. UTP is also producing 137 MMCF gas per day. So far, it has contributed more than US\$50 million (44 per cent of gross revenue) to the government's purse in the shape of royalties and taxes.

UTP has ploughed back 46 percent of its earnings in the Badin block and only 9 percent has gone to its foreign partners. Recently, the UTP Chairman, Mr A Clark Johnson, while on a visit to Pakistan, announced another investment of \$100 million for oil and gas exploration in Sindh. He praised the government's economic reforms and promised to continue setting up revolutionary new social projects. No wonder then a cynical local observed, "Even the foreigners take better care of us than the feudals."

License for Chinese Jet Manufacturing Plant Obtained

93AS0678B Karachi AMN in Urdu 15 Feb 93 p 8

[News Report: "Pakistan Will Manufacture Chinese Jets"]

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 14 February (PPI): Syed Ghaus Ali Shah, Pakistan's defense minister, said that Pakistan had obtained the license for manufacturing Chinese jet aircraft. He is here to participate in the international defense show. Speaking to journalists, the minister said that military cooperation among Pakistan, Turkey, Iran, and other neighboring countries was aimed at ensuring the safety of the Gulf. The defense show was opened this morning by Abu Dhabi's heir apparent, Prince Sheikh Khalifa Bin-Zayid. Thirty four countries are taking part in the show, which will run until 18 February.

Navy Said Ready To Purchase Indonesian Aircraft

93AS0713J Lahore THE NATION in English 5 Mar 93 p 16

[Article: "Indonesian Aircraft for Pak Navy"]

[Text] Karachi—Pakistani Naval officials have shown pleasure over the performance of Indonesian military aircraft and recommended that they should be included in Pakistan Navy and other wings of the armed forces. The aircraft and helicopters are suitable for detecting enemy's activities and troops carrier.

This was stated by naval officials who performed six hours test on CN-235MP aircraft on Karachi coastal belt here on Wednesday. These officers of the Pakistan Navy were speaking on a dinner hosted in honour of 12-member delegation from IPTN [expansion not given], a subsidiary of the Strategic Defence Manufacturing Industry under the control of Ministry of Defence, Indonesia. The delegation has visited Karachi in response to the interest shown by Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif during his last November visit to Jakarta. Subsequently, the Defence Minister Syed Ghous Ali Shah visited Bandung and personally visited IPTN where these aircraft are manufactured. Recently the Defence Minister paid a special visit to U.A.E. where these planes and helicopters were displayed in an exhibition and invited the members of Indonesian delegation to come to Pakistan and make a demonstration in Karachi.

Purchase of French Submarines Said Possible

93AS0713A Karachi DAWN in English 15 Mar 93 p 1

[Article: "Acquisition of French Subs Under Study"]

[Text] Karachi, March 14: Pakistan Government has not yet taken any decision to acquire three French submarines, equipped with most sophisticated weapons and costing nearly 700 million dollars.

However, initial talks were held between the officials of Pakistan and France for the purchase of the three submarines. French submarines were being used in the Naval fleet, which were purchased nearly two decades ago.

Informed sources said here on Sunday that Sweden and China had also offered submarines to Pakistan and discussions were continuing in this connection. The sources said that a final decision for buying the submarines either from France, Sweden and China would be taken in the near future.

Recently Pakistan Navy purchased three mine sweepers and some helicopters from France. The first mine-sweeper was delivered to Pakistan Navy few months back while the second, being manufactured in France, would be handed over soon.

The third one will be manufactured in Pakistan and shall include the transfer of modern technology. A number of Pakistani officers of the navy and air force had attended advanced training courses in France.

Discussions would be held between Paris and Islamabad for the purchase of French Mirage fighter aircraft. This would be done in order to diversify the country's resources of defence following the refusal of the United States to deliver the F-16 Aircraft to Pakistan for which advanced payment had already been made.

Technical details in this regard would be worked out besides the financing and delivery schedule of the French Mirage planes.

The sources said that Pakistan and French navies would have joint naval exercises soon modalities to this connection were being worked out two French frigates are currently on a five-day goodwill visit to Karachi.

French Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Georges Kiejman, who visited Islamabad last month, held talks with the President, Prime Minister, Federal Ministers for Finance, Defence and Foreign Affairs on matter of mutual interest, including further enhancing their cooperation.

Pakistan navy needs to bolster its defence capability as United States has asked Pakistan for the return of its eight leased frigates.—PPI

New Engines for 'Modified' Mashshaq Aircraft

BK2103094593 Islamabad THE NEWS in English 21 Mar 93 p 12

[By Ali Abbas Hizwi]

[Text] Karachi: The Pakistan Aeronautical Complex [PAC], Kamra, has completed the development of a modified Mashshaq, which will soon go into series production. Called Shahbaz, the new trainer cum light observation aircraft has a new 210 horse-power [HP]

Teledyne Continental turbno-charged engine in place of its original 200 horsepower Lycoming power-plant.

The upgraded engine will improve the performance of the aircraft in severe summer heat, experts said. The Shahbaz can climb to 6,000 feet in 7 minutes and 30 seconds at the maximum rate of climb of 1,024 feet per minute. The Mashshaq do the same in 9 minutes 18 seconds at a climb rate of 807 feet per minute.

The Shahbaz can also climb higher. It has a service ceiling of 15,750 feet, much better than 13,450 feet the height Mashshaq can reach.

Because of the new engine, the Shahbaz can operate from smaller strips, an extra advantage during war-time. With a take-off [T-O] run of 150 metres, it outclasses its Indian counterpart HPT-32, which has a take-off run of 545 metres. On the other hand, the Mashshaq has a T-O run of 205 metres.

Another advantage which the Pakistani engineers have gained by changing the power plant of the Mashahaq is improved air-conditioning in the cockpit.

But there has not been any major improvement as far as the safety of the pilot and the co-pilot is concerned. Like its earlier version Mashshaq, the Shahbaz has no ejection seats. There is a provision of back type parachutes for two persons.

The manual says that in case of an emergency you should grab your parachute, open the canopy, climb over the wing, go to its extreme tip and jump over.

This is an elaborate procedure which can hardly be replicated in real life situation. It is something which comes out of a World War I film.

It is because of this that there have been few escapes and more fatal accidents on Mashshaqs. However, the Teledyne engine, which is considered more reliable, may cut down the rate of aircraft—and pilot—losses.

The PAC engineers have not made any major change in the basic design of the Mashshaq except that they have increased the wing sweep forward by five degrees to give a better view to the pilot. The Swedes, however, made some major changes in the design of the Saab Saafari MFI-17 on which the Mashshaq is based. They replaced the original low-mounted horizontal tail surfaces with the ones mounted near the top of the fin to prevent damage by snow in rough air fields. They also replaced the original 160 horsepower engine with the 300 HP Lycoming.

Despite the fact that the Mashshaq was designed to operate in winter climate, experts say the new engine will help make the modified Mashshaq a powerful aircraft of its type in the hot climate.

The Pakistan Air Force [PAF] and the Pakistan Army shares around 200 Mashshaq between them.

The PAF uses its Mashshaqs for basic flying training at the PAF Academy Risalpur, the army for forward air control and liaison besides training. Both services are likely to go in for a retrofit programme, converting their Mashshaqs into Shahbазs.

The Pakistan Aeronautical Complex, which makes the mainframe and all other items of the Mashshaq apart from the engine, instruments, electrical equipment and radios, may also offer Shahbaz to Iran, which has bought 24 Mashshaqs for its Pasdalah-e-Inqilab.

Child Death Figure Seen Astronomical

93AS0713G Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES
in English 9 Mar 93 p 5

[Article: "80,000 Child Deaths Annually in Pakistan"]

[Text] Karachi, March 8: Pakistan has an estimated 80,000 child deaths annually attributed to acute respiratory infection (ARI) and an additional 1,70,000 due to measles.

Risk factors are widely prevalent, but little studied, recent and on-going research holds promise for upgrading national policy and contributing to worldwide ARI control.

Pakistan's data on the epidemiology of ARI are imperfect, yet the picture is consistent with the developing world in general in that ARI is a major cause of morbidity and mortality.

Controlling ARI becomes increasingly important for Pakistan as oral dehydration therapy lessens mortality from childhood diarrhoea.

Unpublished Pakistan data from the children hospital, Pakistan Institute of Medical Sciences (PIMS) Islamabad, showed that in 12 months from November 1988, children under five with ARI accounted for 26 percent of outpatient department (OPD) visits, 25 percent of admissions and 38 percent of all inpatient mortality.

Of the ARI deaths, 65 percent were due to pneumonia alone, 17 percent pneumonia and diarrhoea, and 4 percent due to pneumonia and measles.

A government of Pakistan qualitative assessment of health officials in Northern Areas and Chitral, doctors attributed 18 to 20 percent of infant deaths to pneumonia in 1989.

Child specialist of Gilgit District Headquarters Hospital recorded his 1989 experience of 1931 admissions of which 31 percent were due to ARI (pneumonia and severe pneumonia).

An October 1990 surveys in Karachi said that of the 36 percent of children with recent illness, 32, percent had respiratory symptoms.

National ARI control programme was launched in the country in 1989 to reduce the severity of and morality from pneumonia in children, and to rationalise the use of anti-microbial and other drugs for the treatment of ARI in children.

Pakistan has poor social indicators health, education, female seatus and so on, gender discrimination can be inferred from facility based data unless girls are truly more resistant to ARI which is unlikely, all of the known rise factors for ARI are widespread.

Asthma and pneumonia are frequent in children and diagnostic confusion between the two is well known,

according to the findings of a study on childhood acute respiratory infection in Pakistan carried out by doctors at the Department of Community Health Sciences Aga Khan University, Karachi.

It recommended that teaching a standard approach to wheezing child and rationalising use of drugs for treatment of tachypneic children as outlined in national ARI control programme is a logical starting point.

It said pneumonia has emerged as a leading cause of death among children under five. Inexpensive medications can save most of them, treatment must be made accessible to all and make tomorrow a reality for the many innocent ones condemned to die.—PPI.

Violence Against Women Regretted

93AS0713B Karachi DAWN in English 8 Mar 93 p 9

[Editorial: "Violence Against Women"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Quite appropriately the International Women's Day this year focusses on violence against women. The problems women face all over the world are multifarious—they are the disadvantaged section of the population in terms of health care, education, legal rights, economic opportunities and social status—and concerted efforts are needed for their uplift. But as victims of violence, women have emerged as the worst sufferers. This has been amply demonstrated in Bosnia and Kashmir, where an armed conflict has destroyed the very fabric of society. But women have been doubly victimised by the violence because of the gender factor. In Bosnia over 50,000 women have been raped as a planned strategy of war and 'ethnic cleansing.' In occupied Kashmir the number of women attacked and raped is not known. But hundreds to them have been subjected to brutalities and bestiality of the worst kind. It is time the world community addressed this issue in real earnest.

In the regions which are a theatre of war, violence against women is not an entirely unexpected—though by no means justifiable—phenomenon. But the brutalisation of women in societies that are not embroiled in any manner of hostilities is not unheard of either, given the historically unequal relationship between the sexes. In that context, Pakistan presents a stark example of a society where women are so demeaned and discriminated against that resort to physical and emotional violence against them is fairly common. What has compounded the situation here are deep-rooted feudal mores which encourage the commission of gender-based crimes collectively by men as an act of vengeance. A case in point is the infamous Nawabpur episode of 1984 in which several women were stripped and paraded in public at the behest of an influential landlord seeking revenge against their family. Instances of involvement and collusion of the police in such crimes also abound.

Domestic violence against women has been a tradition of long standing in this country. In fact, many have also

tried to find a justification for it in terms of religious sanction for physical punishment in certain circumstances. But the fact is that the battered woman syndrome is something which militates against human dignity and the right of a person to physical security. While that calls for a campaign to educate men as well as women on a social level, tangible measures should also be taken. This would involve the creation of a network of support, including shelters and crisis centres for battered wives, as well as legal aid, financial assistance and welfare services for the victims.

Domestic violence is the most common though least reported form of violence against women in our society. But it is now being overshadowed by the more heinous crimes of rape, abduction and murder. These are generally planned acts in which the woman is singled out as a victim to penalise her or her family. Thus, in the month of February alone 13 cases of rape were reported in the English Press in Pakistan. Of course many more must have gone unreported. In November last year, WAR reported 30 rape cases in eight weeks in Punjab alone. The one positive point about all this is that rape is being talked about in public now and women, including in some cases the victims themselves, are willing to fight back to obtain redress. A concrete expression of this is the setting up of WAR (War Against Rape) to provide psychological, moral and legal support to rape victims.

While women rights activists are to be commended for their courage and commitment, the apathy of society and the state towards eradicating violence against women is deplorable. The factors mainly responsible for our failure to check crimes against women are the corruption, brutalisation and ineptitude of the police and the lacunae in the laws and trial procedure which allow the criminals to get away lightly or go unpunished. It is plain that the government has not even been able to understand the dynamics of the problem, let alone come to grips with it. Thus the Prime Minister's intentions in visiting the homes of rape victims in the full glare of television cameras—in the last three months he has been to six such homes—are not to be doubted. But one wonders whether such visits do not do more harm than good, considering that the inevitable media exposure often tends to aggravate the pain and social disgrace of the victim and her family—without a firm assurance that justice will in fact be done.

It would make better sense if the government were to make sure that justice is done to women who become victims of violence. On the one hand, this would call for stern action against the police where they are found to be involved in a crime or sheltering the criminal. On the other hand, there is need to change the discriminatory laws which allow the perpetrators of crimes against women to easily escape retribution. Any law which perpetuates on justice should not be on the statute book. The Prime Minister himself on one occasion called for an improvement in the penal code. It is time his government took up this issue in real earnest. Visiting the homes of unfortunate victims is no solution.

Human Rights Situation in Country Analyzed

93AS0679A Karachi AMN in Urdu 14 Feb 93 p 3

[Article by Abdul Tahir Ansari, Chairman of the Human Rights Society, (Sindh Zone): "Human Rights in Pakistan"]

[Text] During 1992, serious human rights violations occurred in Pakistan, which aroused deep concern and displeasure both inside and outside Pakistan.

During 1992, about 50 individuals in the custody of the police and law enforcement agencies died as a result of violence, and 45 women were subjected to gang rape. In Sindh alone, 1,400 individuals were kidnapped for ransom. In the course of Sunni-Shia riots in the Frontier province, 50 persons were killed; in Baluchistan, 20 individuals were killed in religious and linguistic riots; in Punjab, 30 people were killed in Sunni-Shia riots. In the clean-up operation in Sindh, 500 people were killed; in the course of the operation, there were 365 confrontations with the police, but none of the departments asked for a judicial enquiry into the deaths of the bandits or other individuals. During the clean-up operation, 10,000 individuals were arrested. In Karachi and Hyderabad, 300 mutilated corpses were recovered. In Karachi, 106 women who had gathered together to participate in the recitation of the Kuran were placed under arrest. In July 1992, 2,000 People's Party members were arrested in Sindh alone. Article 144 remained in force in Sindh almost throughout 1992, and the opposing party was not allowed to hold meetings. Political wheeling dealing went on in Sindh aimed at buying the support of the assembly members. In order to crush the long march planned by the opposing PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] party, 10,000 political workers were arrested throughout the country and were subjected to violence and bad treatment in jails. In the demonstrations held in Pakistan following the destruction of the Babar mosque [in India], Hindu temples were attacked and vandalized; about six temples were destroyed and 40 persons lost their lives in the riots. In Canada alone, almost 8,000 individuals who feared reprisals in Pakistan sought political asylum. Approximately 32 children younger than 11 years of age were smuggled into the United Arab Emirates by way of Baluchistan. For the first time in Pakistan's history, the woman editor of a newspaper, its publisher, printer, reporter, and an anonymous poet were charged with sedition for having published a poem. The chief editor of a Karachi newspaper was brought to a police station and held for several hours and then released. All these true incidents prove that during 1992, the human rights situation in Pakistan was extremely critical.

In Pakistan, criminals in the custody of the police and law enforcement agencies are being routinely subjected to intense violence and inhuman treatment, and as a result of such violence, these criminals are forced to confess to crimes they did not commit. In 1992, several individuals died while in the custody of the police and

law enforcement agencies, and the names of some of these individuals have been recorded.

It is also a fact that the police have set up torture cells in private residences where several modern instruments of torture are used. Journalists have mentioned the location of many such torture cells in Lahore, and one of these is in Model Town. As in the past, in 1992 as well, several individuals were killed in confrontations with the police, but no judicial enquiry was launched into any of these incidents. More than 365 confrontations with the police have occurred in Sindh. The decision listed on page 1984 of the monthly supreme court survey refers to Article 9 of the Constitution and states that during a confrontation, the police should not kill an individual to protect their own person. In addition to this legal procedure, it is up to the courts to make a decision even in cases where evidence exists that the accused individuals were killed during a confrontation.

In Pakistan, the police and law enforcement agencies now routinely arrest the relatives of wanted individuals who have eluded capture. The country's high courts have noted with grave concern that this practice exists. During the clean-up operation in Sindh, 58 members of the Jai Sindh organization were killed. The Mohajir Qaumi Movement party claims that 411 individuals were killed, that nine of its women members were still missing, and that 10,000 individuals were arrested. The houses of 15,000 individuals were searched, and when the wanted individuals were not found, their relatives were arrested.

According to the statistics mentioned by the Field Investigation Team of Karachi, up to November 12, 1992, in the clean-up operation, law enforcement agencies arrested 587 individuals in the Karachi division alone; of these, 447 were arrested for terrorism, 32 for kidnapping and theft, and 79 for carjacking.

During the clean-up operation, the strange incident occurred of the arrest of approximately 106 ladies who had gathered together to recite the Kuran; they were detained at the police station for 48 hours. A common complaint is that arrested individuals are blindfolded which endangers their eyesight; moreover, this practice is against the human rights charter. It appears that up to now, four billion rupees have been spent on the clean-up operation. In 1992, some minor restrictions were placed on political activity in Pakistan. Owing to the continuous imposition of article 144, no processions or meetings could be held. In July, PPP [Pakistan People's Party] was not allowed to hold protest [demonstrations?] demanding the ouster of the chief minister of Sindh; about 2,000 [party] workers were arrested in the Sindh province, causing the PPP to postpone its protest [meetings]. On 14 August as well, the PPP was not allowed to hold a meeting; only the True MQM received permission to hold a meeting. In Sindh, threats, fraud, force, violence, and greed were used to persuade the assembly members to change their loyalties. MQM members were held hostage at the residence of Sindh's chief minister, where they were coerced into changing sides. Relations

between the Government and the opposition remained strained on a nationwide basis; the Government used every opportunity available to crush the opposition, and the opposition in turn tried its best to overturn the Government. After the death of Sindh's chief minister, Jam Sadiq Ali, political activists breathed a sigh of relief; but they still remain the target of vengeance. PPP members were beaten up in the Sanghar interim elections. The PDA announced its intention of undertaking a long march to Islamabad on 18 November; to stop the march, 10,000 political activists were arrested in the four provinces. Benazir Bhutto and other leaders somehow managed to break through the police barricades and reach Islamabad where they led the procession. To break up the procession, batons and tear gas shells were used with great abandon. The police used intense violence and force on the participants of the long march. Benazir Bhutto and Mrs. Bhutto were banned from entering Punjab, Islamabad and later the Frontier province; this action was condemned both inside and outside Pakistan.

In 1992, political tension and fear of reprisals caused several thousand political activists to seek asylum in Western countries and, in Canada alone, 8,000 individuals requested political asylum.

The Government failed completely to protect the rights of women and maintain their honor outside and inside their homes. In 1992, there was a 30 percent increase in incidents of rape.

During her term of office, Bhutto ended the sardar system and got rid of all private jails; but recently, private jails have been found in Tandulwari, Aligarh, and Mirpur Khas.

The serious human rights violations which occurred in our country during 1992 were noted with severity by the high courts. First, on 12 January, the Supreme Court ruled that henceforth it would take the initiative in hearing cases involving the violation of human rights; similarly, the Lahore High Court noted in its remarks that violations and lack of attention [to human rights] occurred whenever these practices were permitted; but the police do not possess the right to perpetrate violence. The Division Bench of the Sindh High Court ruled that the detention under MPO [Maintenance of Public Order] of Shamshad Ahmad Qureshi, chairman of the People's Workers Union of Pakistan Steel Mill, was illegal and unwarranted and ordered that the Government pay him compensation. This was a historical and unprecedented decision by the Sindh High Court. The Sindh High court also noted with great concern that in several instances, the relatives of wanted individuals were arrested, and ruled that this practice was inhumane and illegal. Recently, the president issued two ordinances aimed at curbing the powers of the high courts. Formerly, when an individual was jailed for more than two years without being sentenced, the court had the power to accept bail; the new ordinance, takes away this power from the courts. Under the second ordinance, the

high court has lost the power to approve bail for defendants who were denied bail by the special courts. Recently six students of Sindh University—Zaheer Ahmad Juneijo, Jamal Abdul Nasir, Jamshid Juneijo, Rezvan Ahmad Juneijo, Shahud Mustafa Solangi, and Abdul Ghaffar Mughairi—were expelled from the University without being given the opportunity to plead their case. This action is a clear violation of the right to education.

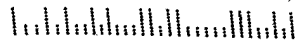
Sindh is the only province where cases from 1980-83 and 1990 involving leaders and activists are still under

process. Recently, a petition was placed before the Sindh High Court drawing attention to the plight of approximately 100 individuals who were either being kept in illegal detention by law enforcement agencies or who had been abducted by the opposing group. Since last June, almost 25,000 individuals have been dismissed from their jobs which were then given to an equal number of other individuals; in awarding employment, merit was not taken into consideration. These serious violations of human rights during 1992 are viewed with grave concern by the human rights [society] of Sindh.

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